DARIO DEL BUFALO

PORPHYRY

Red Imperial Porphyry. Power and Religion

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DARIO DEL BUFALO

PORPHYRY

RED IMPERIAL PORPHYRY
POWER AND RELIGION

PORFIDO ROSSO IMPERIALE
POTERE E RELIGIONE

Entries edited by:
Francesca Licordari
Arianna Pujia
Dario Del Bufalo

Secretary and organisation:
Arianna Pujia

Italian texts revised by:
Antonio Tropiano

Translation from the Greek and Latin and philological analysis:
Professor Alessandro Vatri

English translation of the essay Purple and Porphyry *and* Passio*:*
David Graham

English translation of the texts Damnati ad Metalla, *Quarries and Entries by:*
Lara Cox

Editorial coordination:
Silvia Fiocco

Copy-editing of English texts:
Harriet Graham

Copy-editing of Italian texts:
Alessandra Ruffino

Iconographic section:
Eugenia Testa

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Preface

I remember leafing through the pages of the fine catalogue by Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, when I was a young man and being struck at times by some omissions of works I was familiar with and that, in my opinion, were noteworthy; and likewise by some imprecisions that showed that the author had not always personally seen the objects described. On page 244, I still remember, he mentioned a *Kleine Schale* (a small bowl) with an umbo in the shape of a lotus (see entry L56). I then happened to see it on temporary deposit at Villa Giulia, under a kind of pergola (impounded by the State as it was about to leave the country), and was dumbfounded. It was not a small cup at all, but a big porphyry basin about two metres in diameter. But I realise that some inaccuracies are inevitable in a work of that kind and they certainly do not diminish its worth. Dario Del Bufalo's book corrects some of these oversights and, compared to the more than 150 pieces listed by Delbrueck, contains more than 850.

In the rich introduction, Dario Del Bufalo dwells on the symbolic value of purple, which as a royal colour dates back to the Lagids, then follows its various fortunes through to the last Porphyrogeniti. A surprising theory (and, quite honestly, presented only as a theory) concerns the famous graves of the Ptolemies. Could these not be the big imperial porphyry sarcophaguses altered for a new use and now on display in Istanbul?

Special attention is focused on the *damnati ad metalla* in the Eastern Egyptian desert and on the subsequent homes of the monks. A whole chapter is then devoted to the Four Crowned Martyrs, whose martyrdom Dario Del Bufalo rightly locates not in Pannonia but in the Thebaid.

Readers will find many other items in this book, which sparked off many memories for me. I have visited the Thebaid quarries three or four times (the last, precisely, with Dario Del Bufalo) and I still have extraordinary images of this desert region firmly in my memory, along with the vibrant, almost draining and all-pervasive perfume of a certain variety of yellow daisy that grows as if by miracle amongst the stones. I collected some of these and planted them at Castel Giuliano. In the rich soil of the garden the perfume faded very quickly and nothing remained but a few insignificant small round flowers.

RANIERO GNOLI
President of the National Committee for the Celebrations
of the 6th Centenary of the Università dei Marmorari, Rome

Foreword

As promised in the presentation to the reprint of *Antike Porphyrwerke* (2007), promoted and produced by the National Committee for the Celebrations of the 6th Centenary of the Università dei Marmorari, Rome, and exactly eighty years after the work by Richard Delbrueck (1932), here now is the monograph on Imperial Red Porphyry published by Umberto Allemandi, with a register of works of art and artefacts updated, as far as possible and up to the last moment, to 2012.

The book is presented in English and it seems almost a paradox that the monographic studies on this magnificent marble have been printed only in languages other than Italian, which has always been the language of art. And although Imperial Porphyry is of Egyptian origin, it has always represented aspects of Italian culture, politics, religion and art.

In 1932 Delbrueck wrote *Antike Porphyrwerke* in German; in 2003 Malgouyres edited the *Porphyre* exhibition catalogue in French, and we now publish *Porphyry* in English. However, we and the publisher very much wanted all the texts to be printed in Italian too, as an appendix.

About 700 "new" artefacts are presented here as compared to the more than 150 listed in Delbrueck's catalogue and, as far as possible, a date and provenance have been given, obviously together with the location of the works presented.

For some categories, such as Heads and Vases, we show at the end of their respective entries some examples of modern imitations and forgeries that have appeared over the last two centuries, and, applying the best of our knowledge, we have added critical notes and historical analyses.

From pagan Rome to Christian Rome, from Byzantium to Venice, from the Hohenstaufen tombs in Palermo to the altars of Roman churches, the colour Purple and Red Porphyry have been identified with the power and dignity of the Roman empire, and are still the symbol of the Church's spiritual power and sanctity.

I would like to offer special thanks to Rauf Claude Abdalla of Cairo, for the fraternal help he gave me; thanks to Sheikh Abdel Zaher of the Kushmaan tribe who was my guide for more than twenty years with his son Salama, in the Eastern Desert of Egypt; and finally thanks to my friend and President of the National Committee, Professor Raniero Gnoli, who with great generosity has always supported and encouraged these studies and initiatives.

DARIO DEL BUFALO
Honorary President of the Università dei Marmorari, Rome

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Purple and Porphyry

Premise

Although an interest in coloured marbles has been manifested since antiquity, only in more recent times has it taken on more thoroughly systematic and scientific forms. This is due to the contribution made by the monumental studies of Delbrueck and Gnoli, particularly regarding imperial Roman Porphyry, but also the work of respected scholars such as Lucci and Pensabene, which revealed the wide range of symbolic values attributed to this material over time. The results of such research emphasised the need for greater reasoning on the use of this stone with differing levels of evaluation, ranging from the political to the religious and the artistic to the historical-literary.

The honest intention of these pages, while also providing hypothetical suggestions, is rather that of tracing the stages of a development that has seen the human imagination closely unite the distinctive fortunes of two symbols based on very different materials to the point of imbuing them with or even merging them into the same destiny.

On the one hand purple, from the living body of the murex (fig. 1), is turned into a visual value, and on the other Porphyry, whose inanimate objectivity as stone is given the vital essence of the figure it is called on to embody. Two origins, two natures, a single colour that takes on all that the talent of man has been able to imagine of the highest: from the sanctity of transcendence, to the royalty of power, from the mysticism of atonement to the exaltation of martyrdom.

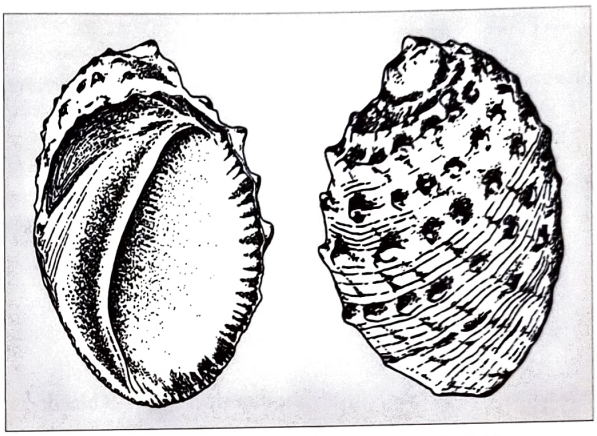


Fig. 1. *Plicopurpura pansa* (Gould 1853), a muricid gastropod from which the Phoenicians extracted the red fabric dye *Porphyra*.

Over the centuries it has been sought to make the contradictions of the figured message coexist in the same chromatic effect; contradictions that are able to keep together the cardinal virtues of Dante[1] and the boundless pomposity of Diocletian, the celestial powers of the Greeks and the dice of those soldiers who vied for Christ's tunic. Fairly distant things and times, but held tightly by a common theme: the colour purple.

Using as sinopia the historical path traced by imperial Porphyry, as a material of an exemplary representative value, the following paragraphs are an attempt to describe the frame of political rationale, religious belief and symbolic requirements that allowed this special chromatic value to become the epitome of power in all its most solemn forms.

"Burning" Affinity

To fully understand how the fate of a marble was so intrinsically linked to that of a pigment, it is necessary to retrace and analyse the various levels of this overlay, from the more immediate and basic of the etymon, to the more heterogeneous and conspicuous of the metaphorical transfer.

Georgius Agricola (or Georg Pawer) in the mid sixteenth century wrote: "*Marmora non habent singularia nomina, sed vel ex coloribus qui eis insident, vel ex regionibus in quibus nascuntur, nominantur marmor*".[2] With no fear of exaggeration, it may certainly be said that these words have never been so precise and apt as with regard to Porphyry. Arising out of a medieval alteration of the original

[1] "Four by the left wheel, clad in purple guise, / Made festival; and she who led the ball / Among them, in her forehead had three eyes" (Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, "Purgatory", xxix, vv. 130-132).

[2] Georgius Agricola (or Georg Pawer), *De natura fossilium*, x, 7, Basel, 1546. It is interesting to note that, contrary to the more common practices of naming a marble on the basis of the place it is quarried, the Mons Porphyrites (or Mons Igneus) owes its name to the material that was quarried there. The modern denomination of Gebel Abu Dukhan, or "Smoking Mountain", clearly alludes to that used in antiquity to designate those places.

Greek term *porphyroys* (= purple), the name the ancients gave to this rock quarried from the eastern Egyptian desert is clearly copied from that of *purphyra*, precisely, "purple". Indeed, it is no mere chance that Lucan[3] defines it as *purpureus lapis*, nor that Pliny[4] consciously adopts the word *rubeat*, "blaze", to restore the visual effect it produces; on the other hand, the ardour of charity in Dante's "Purgatory" was also represented as "flaming",[5] and even to Villipando, visiting the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, the floor seemed to be "paved with stone like burning coals".[6]

The fire that burns in the imagination of the people is often likened to purple. So it is no surprise that in the city state of Ugarit (the modern Ras Shamra on the Syrian coast), already a flourishing trading centre in the late Bronze Age, administrative documents have been found that show how, in the local Semitic language, the dye obtained from the murex was referred to as *phm*, literally, "burning coal" or "ember". Many modern linguists have persuaded themselves that the lemma *πορφύρα* derives from a doubling of the Sanskrit root *pur-phur* (originally *bhur*), which indicates not only the intense, brilliant colour of fire, but also the agitated flickering of the burning flame, and even the quivering sparkle of the wave. It is known that already in Homer and ancient lyrical tradition words like πορφύρεος and πορφύρειν were often associated with phenomena of atmospheric disturbance:

> The wind blew,
> filling out the body of the sail - on both sides of the prow
> the purple waves hissed loudly as the ship sped on its way;[7]

or at times used to allude to the intervention of supernatural forces of threatening and uncontrollable powers:[8]

> Just as for mortal men
> Zeus bends his coloured rainbow down from heaven,
> an omen prophesying war or some harsh storm,
> upsetting flocks and stopping men from work
> upon the earth - that's how Athena then placed herself
> in the Achaean throng, wrapped in a purple mist;[9]

> [Eros] Coming from heaven, wrapped in a *purple chlamys*;[10]

when they were not adopted because directly evocative of blood:

> [The Skamandros] turbulent, boiling to a crest, muttering in foam and blood and dead bodies, until the *purple wave* of the river fed from the bright sky lifted high;[11] and the ground ran with red blood;[12]

and especially of the dead:

> All the sword was smoking with blood
> and over both eyes closed the red death and the strong destiny.[13]

But in antiquity what characterises the social significance of purple is its recognisability in Mediterranean cultures as a sign of supremacy, prestige and thus of civil and priestly power, as shown by the frequent Biblical and literary occurrences. In the Old Testament, from the precepts of Exodus and Chronicles (2) through to Judith, Proverbs, Jeremiah and the two Maccabees, the use of clothing dyed with murex takes on quite different meanings: it is the symbol of the pact with the divinity (the drapery of the arc of the covenant had to be "blue, and purple, and scarlet"),[14] as also of opulence and wealth ("In spite of all this, no sin-

[3] LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, X, v. 115.
[4] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History*, XXXVI, 57.
[5] "The third step, piled above the other twain, / Seemed all of Porphyry that flamed and shone / Redder than bright blood spurting from a vein" (DANTE ALIGHIERI, *The Divine Comedy*, "Purgatory", IX, vv. 100-102).
[6] See CORSI 1833, p. 202; the Italian poet Giovanni Pascoli too, in describing the sepulchre of Frederick II of Swabia, speaks of a "blazing arch" (*Le Canzoni di re Enzo*, X, "L'Imperatore"). The *Dizionario del cittadino, o sia ristretto storico, teorico e pratico del commercio*, translated in 1781, under the headword "Porphyry" says: "Opaque stone even harder than marble and jasper. The colour of Porphyry is a fairly bright purple, similar to that of *burning coals, from whence comes the name Porphyry, or 'porta-fuoco'*" (see CORSI 1833, p. 147).
[7] HOMER, *The Iliad*, 1, vv. 481-482.
[8] The invention of this pigment is also attributed to the demigod Heracles: in the version by Pollux (*Onomasticon*, 1, 45-47) the hero, in love with the nymph Tyro, walked with her and her dog along the beach when the animal, noticing a murex on the rocks, bit into it. At this point the dog's lips took on an unusual and splendid sanguine colour: fascinated by this enchanting hue, the nymph asked Heracles to find her a dress no less beautiful, forcing him to identify the mollusc from which that pigment came and to invent the method of extracting it. According to Nonnus of Panopolis (*Dionysiaca*, 11, 298-310) and Cassiodorus (*Variae*, 1, 2, 7), its inventor was, instead, an anonymous shepherd.
[9] HOMER, *The Iliad*, 17, vv. 547-552.
[10] Frag. 54 Voigt's Sappho.
[11] HOMER, *The Iliad*, 21, vv. 326ff.
[12] IBID., 17, v. 360.
[13] IBID., 16, v. 330f.
[14] "And thou shalt make a veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet" (Exodus, 26:31). Furthermore in the Letter to the Hebrews, 9:19-20, Paul writes: "For when Moses had spoken every precept to all the people according to the law, he took the blood

gle one of them had assumed a crown or put on the *purple* for his own aggrandisement"[15]); but it is also an example of decadence and fatal omens (Ezekiel, vv. 26-28), or, conversely, womanly virtue ("[the virtuous woman] made a garment of tapestry, and her clothing *is silk and purple*", Proverbs, 31:22). In accordance with a widespread perspective in the ancient near east, the most repeated interpretation in the Biblical data relating to purple is its attribution to sovereignty, both divine and human: from the clothing of the high priest to the curtains of the temple,[16] from the luxurious ornaments of Solomon's court,[17] or that of Xerxes I,[18] to the cloak offered to Daniel as a regal honour by Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans.[19] The display of this colour was thus perceived as an effective sign of exclusive venerability, such that violating it was akin to committing sacrilege.[20]
But it is in the context of Hellenic culture that purple's figurative register of opulence and distinction is clearly consolidated, and it is definitively made a visible and discriminating instrument both of political authority and of the mannerist degeneration of flaunted, shameless luxury;[21] unequivocal harbingers of the paroxysmal lack of restraint reached by Rome and Byzantium.

> Chrysippus, in the *Introduction to the Treatise On Good and Bad Things*, says that an extremely wealthy young man from Ionia visited Athens wearing a *purple robe* with a gold fringe. When someone asked "Where did that come from?", he said: "From all the money I've got".[22]
>
> There was also at Tarsus an Epicurean philosopher who had become the tyrant of that city, Lysias by name; who having been created by his countrymen Stephanephorus, that is to say, the priest of Hercules, did not lay down his command but seized on the tyranny. He put on a *purple tunic*...[23]
>
> But another flatterer, by name Osis, caused Thraso to be put to death by Hieronymus; and he persuaded Hieronymus himself to assume the diadem, and the *purple* and all the rest of the royal apparel, which Dionysius the tyrant was accustomed to wear.[24]

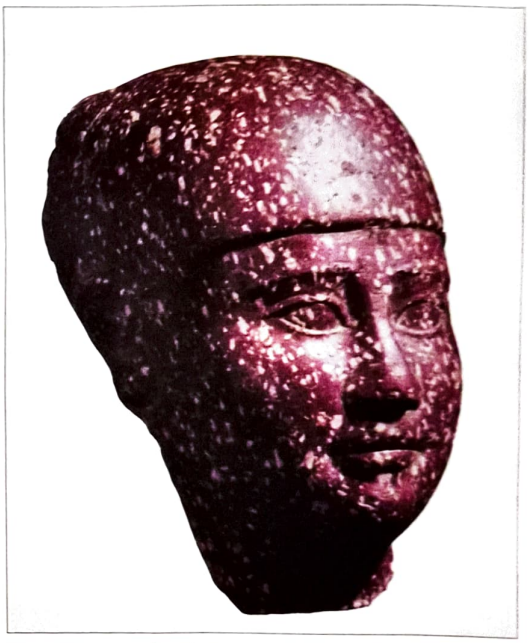


FIG. 2. BRUSSELS, MUSEE ROYAUX D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE. EGYPTIAN PTOLEMAIC HEAD (SEE H2).

THE EGYPT OF THE PHARAOHS AND THE PTOLEMIES

The only Mediterranean civilisation to remain immune to the widespread process of symbolically institutionalising purple was the Egypt of the Pharaohs. Although Egyptian culture had always been rich in an infinite figured wealth of signs and symbols, it did not give the Phoenician dye any metaphorical significance. It therefore did not adopt it as a qualifying aspect of divine power, as was that of the Pharaohs, who over the course of several millennia had already perfected the largest register of iconographic representation in history.
In the light of the above, it is no surprise that the use made of the corresponding marble was at least episodic, as seems confirmed by the almost complete absence of porphyritic finds dating from that period. A fairly meagre number of objects made with this stone, which the Egyptians called *Ibthy*, has emerged from the excavations made: a small sphinx with scroll of Thutmose III, dating from the New Kingdom, a man's head from the 26th Dynasty and a few examples of plate, probably intended as part of the funerary furniture of other sovereigns (fig. 2).
Although the testimony offered by a passage from Pliny relating to the tomb of King Amenemhat III (of the 12th dynasty)[25] allowed the hypothesis to be raised of Porphyry quarries already being in use in the Middle Kingdom, it is the common opinion

of calves and of goats, with water, and scarlet wool, and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book, and all the people. Saying, This is the blood of the testament which God hath enjoined unto you."

[15] 1 Maccabees, 8:14.

[16] 2 Corinthians, 3:14; see also Numbers, 4:6f., 15, 38.

[17] Song of Solomon, 3:10; 7:5.

[18] Esther, 1:6; 8:15. Athenaeus of Naucratis says that in the *History of Persia* by Heraclides of Cumae one could read: "The throne on which [the king of the Persians] sat to give audience was gilt, surrounded by four small gilt columns studded with precious stones, over which an embroidered cloth of purple was extended" (ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *The Deipnosophists*, XII, 514c-d).

[19] "...And they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom" (Daniel, 5:29).

[20] See Jeremiah, 22:14.

[21] It is significant to note that among the adults of Athens the excessively ostentatious use of purple was so prevalent that even the mime Senarco wrote a comedy, now lost, to stigmatise this vice (see ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *The Deipnosophists*, VI, 225).

[22] IBID., IV, 159e.

[23] IBID., V, 215d-e.

[24] IBID., VI, 251f.

[25] "[...] Inside there are columns of Porphyry, statues of divinities and kings, and figures of monsters" (PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History*, XXXVI, 19, 88); unless at the time someone did not confuse Porphyry with the red granite of Aswan (Pirropoecilo).

among archaeologists that the Egyptians, already in possession of the techniques for working hard stone, in which they had immortalised their complex mythology, occasionally used miscellaneous pieces from near the quarries to make the rare items in this material that to them was so negligibly evocative.

Starting from the voluminous and pioneering work by Delbrueck (1932), almost all the modern writings on Porphyry agree in saying that the richly varied use of this stone for architectural and artistic ends began only in the Greek Egypt of the Ptolemies. The debate on this subject is actually fairly controversial, and there are a fair number of scholars who express reservations on this theory, essentially contesting a substantial scarcity of references, both documentary and more generally historical-cultural.

The need for an organic, systematic procedure requires that one advances by degrees. So we will initially look at a salient element of the question - often adopted by detractors of the hypothesis of a Ptolemaic use of Porphyry - that there is no absolute certainty that purple was assigned a specific significance of royalty and sanctity in the Lagid court.

Examination of the literary testimonies we have, however, suggests asserting precisely the opposite with some certainty. This thesis is supported in particular by Athenaeus of Naucratis, a source regarded as being particularly valid by historians because, although late, he included explicit references to older books that in many cases have been lost.[26] Among the fragments of this second- to third-century Greek writer, there are numerous occurrences that document a marked taste for purple garments in the Hellenistic courts, and particularly that of Alexander the Great, who saw his divine genealogy prefigured in that colour:

> Ephippus tells us that "Alexander used to wear even the sacred vestments at his entertainments; and sometimes he would wear the *purple robe*, and cloven sandals, and horns of Ammon, as if he had been a god; [...] at other times and indeed almost every day, he would wear a *purple cloak* and a tunic shot with white, and a cap which had a royal diadem attached to it".[27]

Alexander's partiality for the Tyrian dye[28] was so immoderate that the need was felt to procure it anywhere possible:

> And at that time Alexander wrote letters to the cities in Ionia, and to the Chians first of all, to send him a quantity of *purple*; for he wished all his companions to wear *purple robes*. And when his letter was read among the Chians, Theocritus the philosopher being present, said that now he understood the verse in Homer "He fell by purple death and mighty fate".[29]

On a par with their illustrious forebear, the Lagid sovereigns, as far as is known, gave in to the flatteries of purple luxury and its marked symbolic value; especially Ptolemy Philadelphia, whose extravagance seemed unrivalled:

> This is recorded by Callixeinus of Rhodes in the fourth book of his work on Alexandria. He says: "In the Dionysiac procession, there marched at the head Sileni who kept back the crowds; they were dressed in *purple chlamys*, some in red... After them followed a double altar... Following this came one hundred and twenty boys in *purple tunics*... After them marched forty Satyrs crowned with gold crowns in ivy pattern; their bodies were smeared in some cases *with purple*, in others with vermilion and other colours... After them came two Sileni in *purple chamlys* and white shoes... A statue of Dionysus... wearing a purple tunic extending to the feet, over which was a transparent saffron coat; but round his shoulders was thrown a *purple mantle* spangled with gold...".[30]

The Ptolemies' partiality for purple may thus be thought certain, not only because identified in its dimension of display and opulence, but especially because of its recognised value of hieratic sanctity.[31] Indeed, it is known for certain that the Hellenistic kings also took to imitating their heroic predecessor in matters of image, taking up almost his entire range of iconographic attributes, indispensable for attesting to dynastic continuity and advancing a complete programme of self celebration.[32]

[26] All the passages are taken from the following reference text: ATENEO DI NAUCRATI (ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS), *I Deipnosofisti. I dotti a banchetto* (*The Deipnosophists*), 2001. First commented Italian translation to a project by Luciano Canfora. Introduction by Christian Jacob. Volume I, books I-V; volume II, books VI-XI; volume III, books XII-XV; volume IV, Greek text.

[27] IBID., XII, 537d.

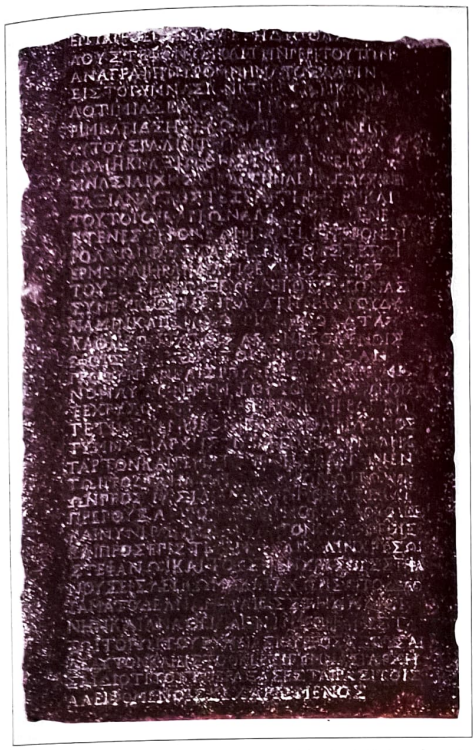
[28] Speaking of Pyrrhus, Plutarch writes: "Other kings merely by *their purple* and their guards, by the formal bending of their necks... represented Alexander" ("Pyrrhus", *Lives*, 8, 1). Given that it is a medieval document thought to be of little account on a historic and documentary level, the *Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni* also contains a similarly hyperbolic description of the decorative tastes that ruled in the Hellenistic courts: "...But in the meantime [Alexander] admired the palace all resplendent with its ceilings of gold and walls of precious stones: on the beds were thrown covers woven with gold and coloured threads of silk, and the beds rested on gilt feet; and the divans were covered in golden fabrics; the meals were served on ivory tables, and Persian columns shone with their capitals the colour of ebony: and there were endless statues of bronze, and the scythed war chariots shaped from Porphyry stone and carved with horses that seemed alive, to the point of breaking into a gallop; and elephants carved in the same stone that squashed their enemies beneath their feet and crushed their adversaries with their proboscis; and entirely sculpted tempietti with all their columns, from a single block of marble" (III, 22).

[29] ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *The Deipnosophists*, XII, 539f-540a. It is interesting to note that this passage subsequently also inspired Ammianus Marcellinus, who, in referring to Constantine, wrote: "*susceptus denique ad consessum vehiculi receptusque in regiam hunc versum ex Homerico carmine susurrabat: 'ellabe porphyreos thanatos kai moira krataie'*" (*Rerum gestarum libri*, XV, VIII, 17).

[30] ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *The Deipnosophists*, V, 197e-198d.

[31] Cleopatra also used it for her manneristic manifestations of splendour, going as far as having the sails of the ships in which she went to meet Antony dyed purple (PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History*, XIX, 22: "Cleopatra had a purple sail when she came with Mark Anthony to Actium, and with the same sail she fled. A purple sail was subsequently the distinguishing mark of the emperor's ship"). And it is interesting that in this sense the Egyptian queen could count on an illustrious precedent, that of Alcibiade: "The trireme in which he sailed up to the very gates of Piraeus led the fleet with purple sails" (ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *The Deipnosophists*, XII, 535d).

[32] Such was the case of the *leontè* of Heraclean descent, and of the elephantine forms (*exuviae elephantis*), but also of the diadem and the spear. The only iconographic element not to be accredited with Ptolemaic portraiture, either statuary or numismatic, was the horned headdress, symbol of Zeus Ammone and thus of the direct divine genealogy of Alexander. On this subject we suggest reading the admirable study by VIRGILIO 2003.



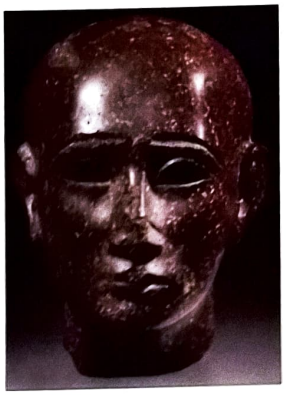


Fig. 3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles. Honorary inscription found in the port of Ancona (see I1); Fig. 4. Paris, Louvre, Department of Egyptian Antiquities. Fragment of a Ptolemaic figure (see S3); Fig. 5. Rome, private collection. Egyptian head, neo-Amarna style, XXVI dynasty (see H1); Fig. 6. Rome, Santarelli Foundation Collection. Late Ptolemaic-Roman head published by Delbrueck in 1932.

But although it is certain that Greek Egypt had knowingly taken in the metaphorical message of purple after the death of Alexander, it is rather more difficult to show that in the same period it had by extension also recognised Porphyry as having the same wealth of significance, such as to ordain its use in the figurative arts in keeping with a precise regime policy.

Almost all the information we have on this comes from literary sources. The few archaeological finds consist of the honorary stela of a certain Bathon of Thera, dated with certainty to 150 BC[33] (fig. 3); a bust of a queen, now in Paris (Louvre) (fig. 4); and possibly a royal head in Egyptian style whose dating has not yet been unanimously agreed (fig. 5). There are then some other items of obvious Egyptising appearance, for which the proposal of a dating to the Hellenistic age has not failed to arouse a certain scepticism (fig. 6).

To corroborate the thesis of Porphyry being used as royal stone in the Ptolemaic period, however, Delbrueck cites a series of indirect proofs in his book of 1932. At first these were generally accepted by scholars, but then became the object of serious criticism. Although they are circumstantial, a systematic analysis cannot too hastily dismiss the proofs he collected, which were:

1. A mosaic in full Alexandrian style found in the area of the caves at the temple of Palestrina, portraying a circular altar in Red Porphyry (fig. 7). These are not actually Red Porphyry mosaics, but tesserae cut in antique red and vitreous paste and it may be surmised that Delbrueck (1932) saw an altar made in Porphyry represented there.

2. Lucan in his *Pharsalia* describes Cleopatra's banqueting hall in the palace at Alexandria, in which reference is made to columns of Porphyry among an abundance of precious marbles.[34] Many have expressed doubts about this passage, seeing in the description of the decorative apparatus not only a stoically indignant look at an uninhibited display of wealth, but also a kind of translation of ornamental styles in use at the time of the author. While taking all this into consideration, it is necessary, however, to point out that Lucan could have been well informed on Alexandrian matters, being the nephew of the philosopher Seneca, who had lived long enough in those places to write *De situ et sacris Aegyptiorum*: indeed, the latter talks of "luxuries that had not yet penetrated Roman society", where he is well aware that in the period in question the precious marbles from the provinces were used in the form of "squared and thin slabs", rather than in "solid and entire blocks", as was rather the case in the ancient palaces built in the places of its provenance.

3. Another indirect testimony is provided by the name of *opus alexandrinum* given to paving made with red and green Porphyry.

[33] This is a stele that contains a long decree issued by the association of *alephomenoi* in honour of the local personality Bathon, son of Philon, who had accepted the office of *gymnasiarca*, financing the organisation of festivities and providing for the rewards of the winners.

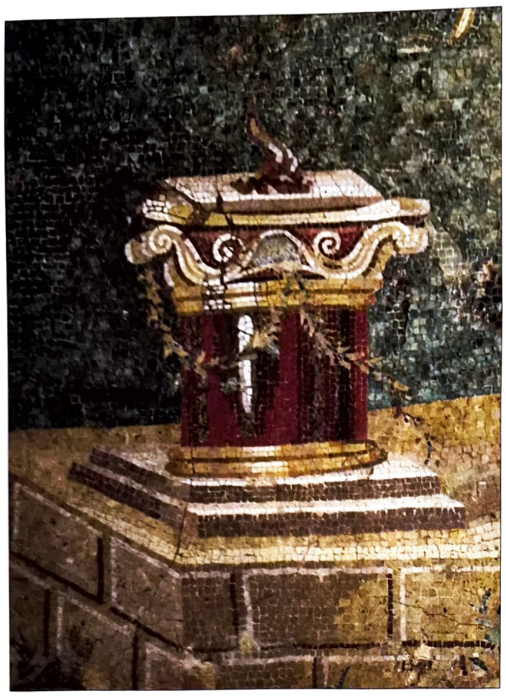


FIG. 7. PALESTRINA, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. ROMAN MOSAIC MADE OF *ROSSO ANTICO* FROM GREECE INSTEAD OF PORPHYRY, 1ST CENTURY BC / 1ST CENTURY AD.

FIG. 8. PRESENT LOCATION UNKNOWN. MOSAIC-OPUS SECTILE, FOUND IN CALIGULA'S SHIPS, WHICH SUNK IN LAKE NEMI, SOUTH OF ROME, AND WERE EXCAVATED IN THE 1930S (SEE C115B).

Although it has been shown by Bruneau (1987) that the adjective does not refer to the Egyptian city, but to Emperor Alexander Severus, under whose reign this building technique was widely adopted in Rome, the fact remains that examples of paving inlays that required the use of Porphyry had already been recorded long before this sovereign. Indeed, it is nothing new that porphyritic tesserae of this kind have been found not only related to the nympheum of the *Domus Transitoria*, in the *Domus Aurea*, and in the villa at Subiaco,[35] but especially in the excavations of the ship of Nemi built by Caligula. His Hellenistic obsession led him to use the great ships of Ptolemy IV Philopator as his model, which were also richly decorated with mixed marbles, including Porphyry[36] (fig. 8). But the most interesting proof that confirms the use of Porphyry in the incrustation of ancient palaces is provided by a Biblical text of the second to first centuries BC, considerably reworked in precisely the Alexandrian period: the Book of Esther. In it one reads that the palace of Asheurus (Xerxes I) was decorated with "...white, green, and blue, hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble: the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black, marble".[37]

4. The final evidence suggested by Delbrueck (1932) deserves a special place, in our opinion, because the questions it opens and the hypotheses that it seems to suggest demand careful evaluation, beyond the support and verification of different arguments. A Coptic manuscript, now unfortunately lost, but translated by the scholar G. Botti,[38] traced a topography of the city of Alexandria, based on previous Greek sources, and noted that:

> Alexander the Great, dying, ordered that he be buried in Alexandria at a place called the Park of the Gazelles. This was done. On the tomb of Alexander the Great a column of twenty *virsaks* was raised, crowned by a statue facing south-east. Alexander's tomb is

[34] "First uprose the hall, like to a fane which this corrupted age could scarcely rear: the lofty ceiling shone with richest tracery, the beams were bound in golden coverings; no scant veneer lay on its walls, but built in solid blocks of marble, gleamed the palace. A gate stood in sturdy columns, bearing up the roof; Onyx and Porphyry on the spacious floor" (LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, X, vv. 111-116).

[35] Statius informs us that in the villa of Pollius Felice at Sorrento it was also possible to see examples of *sectile* with porphyritic inserts "*...ubi marmore picto/candida purpureo distinguitur area gyro*" (STATIUS, *Silvae*, II, 2, vv. 88-89).

[36] Important remains of sumptuous marble paving with Porphyry inserts have been found not only on the ship built for Philopator, but also in the archaeological areas of Kôm El Dik and Wardiyan. In his book entitled *La tomba Alessandro*, Achille Adriani writes that "a papyrus from the end of the third century BC already attests to the use of expensive stones imported from the Nile megalopolises by the high Hellenistic period. The testimonies about the *Thalamegos* and the reception areas in the Alexandrian Ptolemaic palace, recorded in the *Pharsalia* by Lucan, are fundamental, showing how the material itself was in Egypt and because of Egypt, a carrier of meanings: the Ptolemies intended also by way of this medium of propaganda and communication to model themselves on the Pharaonic dynasties in the sphere of court architecture" (ADRIANI 2000, p. 100). See also the testimony of ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *The Deipnosophists*, V, 203e-204d.

[37] Esther, 1:6. The brimming ornamental wealth of the Persian court was also to inspire Anton Giulio Barrili many centuries later for the dining room of his Semiramide: "...All around were arranged tables of scented wood, covered with white cloths edged in purple. At the end of the room could be seen the more decorated, higher table, with the golden throne of the queen at its head, and beds of silver around about, on a floor fashioned into designs with inserts of Porphyry and white marble, granite and mixed..." (BARRILI 1915).

[38] BOTTI 1897, pp. 43ff.

decorated with marbles; he lies in a sarcophagus and his name is engraved on the lid. Around the sepulchre of Alexander the Great there are more modest sepulchres in Porphyry: they are the tombs of seven horsemen and their leader,[39]

so eight sarcophagi in total.

Although other colleagues (such as D. G. Hogarth and G. Ficcadori) affirm this source as being authoritative, the scholar H. Thiersch in 1910 tried to show that in identifying the column in the manuscript Botti had made a mistake, confusing it with that said to be "of Pompey", at whose summit there is actually an armoured statue of Diocletian.

Faced with the questionable nature of the topographical indications given by the document about Alexander's tomb, what must be observed here is the mention of the existence in Alexandria of a good eight Porphyry sarcophagi, described as belonging to a single complex. It is clear, to use Delbrueck's argument (1932), that such a tradition, albeit legendary, could have had a following only if supported by the real presence of Porphyry urns in the city. Note must also be made that the dating of the manuscript proposed by Botti hinges on identifying Khademôn, the writer, as Khoeremôn, member of the Alexandria Museum in 80 BC, and so a person fairly familiar with the city's religious and artistic matters.

In any case, making a study in several directions we have been able to note that this alliance between Alexander's tomb and that of the Lagids is referred from different sources: it is mentioned in fact by Strabo,[40] who had visited those places between 24 and 20 BC, by Zenobius in his collection of *Proverbs*,[41] and by the well informed Lucan, who, in an invective against the Lago household, explicitly confirms the proximity of these burials.[42] There is then a celebrated passage in Suetonius that seems to evoke it: an episode in which Augustus, having gone to pay homage to the tomb of the Macedonian hero, answered rather irritably when asked whether he also wanted to visit those of the Ptolemies (so alluding to the fact that they were nearby) that he had come to visit a king and not the dead.[43]

Archaeologists now agree in thinking that, once taken to Alexandria, the body of the Macedonian leader was buried in a *Sema* built by Ptolemy II Philadelphia. This was followed by the building of another shrine on the orders of Philopator, who in around 215 BC reunited the bodies of his forebears and, together with that of Alexander, placed them in a single mausoleum called the *Mnema*, around which the sepulchres of the subsequent dynasties were gradually arranged.[44]

So apart from the documentary credit to be given to the Coptic manuscript, which does not seem at all off the track, it remains to be understood what the destiny of these sarcophagi was, given that modern archaeology has not yet been able to give a definitive and agreed response. We think that there are a number of reasons for thinking that the porphyritic tombs indicated in the Coptic source may be identified as the funerary urns now held in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (fig. 9). There are substantially two considerations that have led us to this: historical-literary and more specifically artistic, and as such must be looked at separately.

FIG. 9. ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, COURTYARD. REUSED IMPERIAL SARCOPHAGI.

[39] This would be Ptolemy Soter and other Lagid sovereigns.

[40] "A part belonging to the palaces consists of that called *Sema*, an enclosure, which contained the tombs of the kings and that of Alexander. [...] Ptolemy carried away the body of Alexander, and deposited it at Alexandreia in the place where it now lies; not indeed in the same coffin, for the present one is of hyalus (alabaster?) whereas Ptolemy had deposited it in one of gold: it was plundered by Ptolemy surnamed Cocce's son and Pareisactus, who came from Syria and was quickly deposed, so that his plunder was of no service to him" (STRABO, *Geography*, XVII, 1, 8).

[41] ZENOBIUS, *Proverbs*, III, 94.

[42] "Last of the Lago household, degenerate offspring destined to perish and cede the sceptre to his incestuous sister, while keeping Alexander in a consecrated cave, and the ashes of the kings rest under a mountain erected for them, and the pyramids and unworthy mausoleums hold the remains of the Ptolemies, shameful dynasty..." (LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, VIII, 692-696).

[43] "At this same time he had a desire to see the sarcophagus and body of Alexander the Great... and after looking upon it for some time, he paid honours to the memory of that prince by offering a golden crown and strewing flowers upon it; and being asked if he wished to see the tombs of the Ptolemies also, he answered that he was desirous of seeing a king, not dead men" (SUETONIUS, "Augustus", *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 18).

[44] Which would explain the *mausolea* and the *piramides* spoken of by Lucan. On this question see the extraordinary work by ADRIANI 2000.

The date from which it is necessary to begin is 457, the year of Marcian's death, according to tradition the last emperor to be buried in a sarcophagus of Red Porphyry (it is not clear whether the big block used for his sepulchre was quarried in those years specifically for him or whether a block quarried even a century earlier and originating from a deposit in Alexandria was reused). The dating for the definitive abandoning of the Mons Porphyrites quarry is officially sanctioned by the fact that no emperor after Marcian was buried in the purple stone. We are more inclined to think that large monolithic blocks like those needed for an emperor's sarcophagus had not been arriving in either Alexandria, or much less Rome, from the "Smoking Mountain" for some time before 457. Perhaps there never was a genuine plan for abandoning those quarries (anchorites apart) and perhaps many things also changed because of political and religious developments concerning primarily the Egyptian church. Following the Council of Chalcedon (451) the influence of the Coptic community, financially strengthened by the donations of the faithful, had grown so much as to have had a powerful effect of radicalising the now widespread nationalist feeling of hostility towards Constantinople, from whose political and fiscal authority Egypt intended freeing itself. In reality, the quarrying of large blocks (*quantislibet molibus caedendis* in the words of Pliny[45]) from the Gebel Abu Dukhan deposits had already ceased much earlier: Constantine's wish to legitimise Christianity (definitively decreed by Theodosios in 380) had caused a sudden and massive loss of manpower available to the prefects of the Thebaid mining area.[46] It is easy to imagine that after Constantine's recognition there was no longer any reason for many of the slaves of the *familia Caesaris* employed in the quarries of the eastern desert, being Christians *damnati ad metalla*,[47] to be kept in their shackles.

So we are led to think it plausible that to make up for the shortage of blocks of Porphyry from which to create monumental sarcophagi, the sovereigns of Constantinople tried to satisfy their desire to be buried in the *purpureus lapis* by drawing on existing materials that could meet this need.[48] Given that it is even more improbable that such large blocks[49] could be found in Rome, left abandoned and unused despite the cost and intrinsic value of the material, but above all after the numerous moves made by Constantine,[50] it seems much more likely that the *basileis* directed their attention towards Alexandria, crossroads of stone transportation. But finding here, too, the warehouses of the *ratio marmorum* bereft of the pieces required, they resolved the problem by reusing as *spolia* the marble remains of a now forgotten Ptolemaic pomp.

We know that in the centuries after construction of the *Mnema*, the building was the subject of repeated pillaging carried out in subsequent periods by the descendants of the royal household. Strabo tells of the substitution of Alexander's sarcophagus by Ptolemy XI (107-88 BC),[51] and Flavius Josephus writes that Cleopatra too, driven by the needs of her audacious policies and personal luxury, stripped the tombs of her forebears of every precious object.[52] Added to this, under Aurelian first (275) and then Diocletian (296), the royal cemetery suffered irreparable damage during the revolts and civil wars that took Alexandria to the brink of total destruction, such that by the end of the fourth century no vestige could be seen of the grandiose building, if it is true that John Chrysostom could speak of it in a sermon, albeit with some emphatic hyperbole, as an untraceable glory.[53]

In such a context it is not difficult to imagine that the Ptolemies' porphyritic sarcophagi, by now heading towards a state of total neglect,[54] such as to justify the numerous lootings of these despite the continuation of a widespread dynastic cult, may have been removed from their place of origin and adapted to the needs of the Byzantine emperors.

An evaluation of a merely artistic nature supports a hypothesis of this kind. Indeed, if the Istanbul sarcophagi are compared with those of Constance and Helen held in the Vatican Museums, the extreme difference in terms of decorative richness and sculptural refinement is immediately evident. Given that the ornamental styles of the Constantine period were distinguished by such magnificence and figurative opulence,[55] it must be asked how such sovereigns, who were so autocratic and given to considerable exhibitionism, restricted themselves to commissioning "tempietto"[56] sepulchres with such elementary features, on the model of ancient Proconnessian-Alexandrian funerary art.

It seems fairly strange that royals who were much struck by the fascination of Porphyry, and had made this stone one of the es-

[45] See PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History*, XXXVI, 57.

[46] As seems to be confirmed by the almost total absence of *ostraca* datable to those years.

[47] The only ones, according to the sources of the period, in possession of the secrets of tempering the tools with which to work Porphyry.

[48] It must therefore be thought that the Porphyry of Hagia Sophia, which Paul the Silentiary said was of Egyptian origin, must necessarily have been material cut into slabs, or in any case transported not in blocks of a certain size: "...The purple stone / That weighed down the rafts of the wide Nile / Is raised in great quantities and shines / All composed of minute stars" (PAULUS SILENTARIUS, *Descriptio S. Sophiae*, I, V, 625-628).

[49] The Florentine traveller Cristoforo Buondelmonti in his *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* (1824) writes "... *sepulchra imperato rum porphyrea ... una cum Costantini immenso...*"

[50] His raids were so formidable that Saint Jerome, outraged at such thieving impetuosity, wrote "*paene omnium urbium nuditate*".

[51] STRABO, *Geography*, XVII, 1, 8.

[52] "...*sepulcra progenitorum depopulata est*" (FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Against Apion*, II, 57).

[53] "...Tell me, where is the tomb of Alexander?" (JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Homilies*, XXVI, 5 [MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXI, Ioann. Chrys. X, C 581]).

[54] In the biographies of the Roman emperors no mention is made of visits to the tombs of the Lagids, compared with the numerous tributes made to that of Alexander (Augustus, Caligula, Septimius Severus and Caracalla).

[55] As is confirmed by the finding in Alexandria of a tomb cover with decorations quite similar to that which held the remains of Constantine's daughter. This piece, now kept in the place of its discovery, documents that the cinerary products made *ex nihilo* in the city's workshops in the late imperial age were richly decorated. Indeed, already under Diocletian vessels in Porphyry were embellished with all kind of relief: "... *iussit Diocletianus Augustus ex metallo porphyritico concas sigillis ornatas cavari... Et coeperunt cavare concas ex lapide porphyritico cum sigillis et herbacantis*" (*Passio Quattuor Coronatorum* [Porphyrius], H. Delehaye [ed.], "Acta sanctorum novembris", III [n.p., n.n., 1910], dies 5-8, ch. 3-4, p. 767, 5).

[56] It is odd that Julius Valerius (Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis...*), using Pseudo-Callisthenes as a source, talks of Alexander's tomb defining it precisely as "*aedem ad instar templi*" (or "in the form of a temple").

FIG. 10. ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, COURTYARD. REUSED IMPERIAL SARCOPHAGUS (SEE L26).

FIG. 11. ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, COURTYARD. REUSED IMPERIAL SARCOPHAGUS OF POSSIBLE PTOLEMAIC PROVENANCE (SEE L25).

sential elements of the complex rituals of court, should prefer formal, fairly repetitive lines[57] and a marked figural sobriety for their sarcophagi[58]: all connotations that in the eyes of the experts seem to barely match the architectural splendour and magnificence of Byzantine display (fig. 10).

In discussing the aesthetic characterisation of the Istanbul sarcophagi, it seems necessary, finally, to point out that, as much in form as in colour, they quite clearly recall the celebratory tents of Persian tradition. Already known by the Greeks on the occasion of the victory at Plataea, this kind of structure was fully adopted by Alexander, and subsequently taken up unanimously by his Lagid successors, especially on the occasion of sumptuous festivals in honour of the sovereign and his illustrious forebear.[59] If the overall architecture and the details in relief of these funerary urns is closely observed, they almost seem like stone reproductions of those tents, which had the classical form of a temple, often with supporting columns at the four corners, a little like acroteria, and above all purple fabrics of Phoenician production (*baobáron yphásmata*) that decorated their roofs and made up their walls (*atoíchous peribolás*) (fig. 11).[60]

In the light of the evaluations proposed and the testimonies adopted, it seems possible to suppose, without being excessively arbitrary, not only that there was a knowing use of Red Porphyry as a stone of precise sacred and royal value in the Ptolemaic period,[61] but also that the paucity of porphyritic products ascribable to the period was brought about by stripping and reuse, which intensified in the post-Constantine age subsequent first to a reduction in quarrying (with the legitimisation of Christianity) and then to the definitive closure of the Egyptian quarries.[62]

[57] Apart from the garlands and crosses on the pediment, probably the result of subsequent works. It must then also be noted that the *crux ansata* on the so-called sarcophagus of Constantine is actually the Egyptian *ANKH* (symbol of life).

[58] The Coptic manuscript actually speaks of "*more modest* sepulchres in Porphyry", see note 38.

[59] The oldest example is that of the tent abandoned by Xerxes on the Plataea battlefield; Alexander made reference to this when he built the one intended to host the celebrations for his wedding at Susa (the source is Athenaeus of Naucratis, who refers to Chares and Phylarchus). This one of Alexander's was the model for several others, including possibly the most celebrated and best known raised by Ptolemy II on the occasion of the *Ptolemaîa* of 278-279 BC (the source is the *Perí Alexandreías* by Callixeinus of Rhodes).

[60] See the fine study by CALANDRA 2010, pp. 1-38.

[61] That the Romans received the attribution of a hieratic connotation to the purple stone from Ptolemaic culture is confirmed by the fact that they considered this the preferred material for the production of items related to the worship of Egyptian divinities. Such is the case with some busts of Serapis, or statuettes of the god Bès, now held in the Museo Nazionale di Palermo and the Torlonia Collection in Rome. Similarly emblematic is the "basket" found in the Benevento excavations in 1903, which has a cover surmounted by a snake that is almost certainly inspired by two portrayals from the same time in the Hellenistic age, one now in the Vatican Museums and the other in Paris.

[62] We know that the desolation of those places attracted numerous anchorites over the centuries who, on the example of Paul of Thebes (see JOHANNES CASSIANUS, *The Institutes of the Cenobia*, X, ch. 24, p. 192, 20: "*Deinde abba Paulus, probatissimus patrum, cum in heremo vastiore concistens, quae Prophyrio nuncupatur, palmarum fructibus...*"), went to the mountains of Thebaid to satisfy their desire to cut themselves off from the world. We are led to believe that this custom continued for a long time, given that still at the start of the seventh century a pilgrim reported having seen some hermits on those heights: "The abbot Zosimus tells us again, saying: twenty-two years ago years I ascended Porphyrite, wanting to live there; and I also took my disciple Giovanni with me. Having arrived, we found in that place two solitary monks, and we lived near them. And one was Maltese, by the name of Theodorus, but the other Galatian, called Paul, and Theodorus was from the monastery of Abbot Eutimio, and they wore garments without sleeves, of wild ox hide. And I stayed there about two years, and we were about two stadia away from them" (G. MOSCO, *Prato Spirituale*, Migne PG, 87 [3], and 124). See also PALLADIUS, *Dialogus de vita Johannis Chrysostomi*, 17.

From the Julian-Claudian age to that of the Flavians

Given that the collection and treatment of purple remained for centuries under the monopoly of the Phoenician cities, and that Carthage, rival colony of the homeland, had profitable trading and diplomatic relations with the Etruscans, it seems quite probable that the use of purple entered Italy in precisely this way, and, although Pliny credits it to Romulus,[63] reached Rome only after the introduction of the *insigna potestatis* from Etruria at the time of the Tarquinian monarchy.[64]

The expensive vice of purple clothing was immediately taken up by the Roman patrician class (fig. 12), and its spread so swift and uncontrollable that many attempts were made to stem it. On the one hand the dramatic conditions of war prompted the promulgation in 215 BC of the *lex oppia* (from the name of its promoter Gaius Oppius), which prohibited its use by women;[65] on the other there were so many descendants of the intransigent Cato that purple was seen as a manifestation of brazen feminine arrogance, if not even the symptom of a decline in marital authority.[66]

But despite the rigid formalism of Rome, also in questions of dress, and the ruling oligarchy's strong fears that its indiscriminate use could change purple from being a mark of political, civil and religious authority[67] into an emblem of social-economic ascent, the penchant for the Phoenician dye continued to grow. The increasing opportunities for comparison with the Hellenistic world prompted Rome to conform to the customs of those places, and to receive into the bed of its own traditions a whole range of new customs and practices that lent themselves to the ostentation of a triumphant power. So, partly because of some sumptuary dispositions that restricted the decline brought about by its misuse, the custom of decorating magistrates and senators with purple insignia became a deeply rooted practice.

FIG. 12. CHARACTER WEARING TOGA *PRAETEXTA* WITH THE RED PURPLE BAND.

This by now ingrained acquisition was not, however, enough to placate the spirits of those who no longer saw it only as a sign of an avid pursuit of luxury,[68] but as the prospect of an *affectatio regni*: above all Cicero who, while censuring monarchic intentions to the Catilines, "*qui fulgente purpura*",[69] took pleasure in recalling that he had already pointed out the early sign of Caesar's ill-concealed royal ambitions "*illo die quo primum in sella aurea sedit et cum purpurea veste processit*".[70] Despite the fates being responsible for allaying any suspicions about Caesar, in the meantime the corrupt image of the "*purpura regum*"[71] in the collective Roman imagination, raddled by a strenuous civil war, was being embodied in Antony who, prepared to subject Rome to the *fatale monstrum* of Cleopatra, presented himself to the Egyptian people, alongside the queen *cum aurea puppe veloque purpureo*, in the degenerate cloak of an oriental sovereign ("*aureum in manu baculum, ad latus acinaces, purpurea vestis ingentibus obstricta gemmis*").[72]

Augustus's traditionalist policy must be set in this context. Defending Roman pride against the corruption of Egypt and being forced to wink at the senate, he made himself the promoter of an *ab antiquo* sobriety of Roman customs. In complete contrast with the *purpurei tyranni* of the Orient and wishing to ward off the accusation of trying to found a monarchy in Hellenistic style, he tried to keep a low profile in the assumption of certain prerogatives exclusive to the *princeps*: in the same spirit with which he intended recovering the distinctive character of purple in the old official ceremonies,[73] he seems to have delayed a little in the use of its corresponding stone,[74] despite the Egyptian province being the personal domain of the emperor, and the tracks to Mons Porphyrites still open.

[63] The passage in the *Natural History*, IX, 136, is known: "I notice that the use of purple at Rome dates from the earliest times, but that Romulus used it only for a cloak". Plutarch also seems to confirm it in "Romulus", *Lives*, 14, 4-5. Pliny was then the source for Isidore of Seville, who, in his *Etymologies*, writes: "The trabea was a particular kind of toga with purple and scarlet stripes originally used by the Roman kings at public celebrations. It is said that its use as a symbol of royal dignity was introduced by Romulus" (19, 24, 10).

[64] This is also clearly reported by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities*, 3, 59-61), and Florus (*Epitome of Roman History*, 1, 1, 5-6).

[65] The tribune of the plebian Gaius Oppius had actually promoted the law *ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haberet neu vestimento versicolori uteretur neve iuncto vehiculo in urbe oppidove aut proprius inde mille passum nisi sacrorum publicorum causa veheretur* (see LIVY, *The History of Rome*, 34, 1, 3).

[66] "*nunc domi victa libertas nostra impotentia muliebri hic quoque in foro obteritur et calcatur*" (IBID., 34, 2, 2); "*ut auro et purpura fulgamus... ne ullus modus sumptibus, ne luxuriae sit*" (IBID., 34, 3, 9).

[67] As Ovid records in his *Fasti*, purple remained the symbol of official power and the state religion: "*purpurea canus cum veste sacerdos*" (4, 339).

[68] Purple as the emblem of a brazen, unwholesome wealth had by now become a distinctive element, such that there were even those who used it to decorate their homes (HORACE, *Satires*, 2, 6, 102-106); while the hapless Midas, afflicted with the ears of a donkey, *tempora purpureis temptat velare tiaris* (OVID, *Metamorphosis*, 11, 181). But that purple was already perceived as the royal colour is also shown by the fact that the court poet Virgil wanted Aeneas resplendent in purple during his stay in Carthage ("*tyrioque ardebat murice laena*", VIRGIL, *The Aeneid*, 4, 262).

[69] CICERO, *In Catilinam*, 2, 5.

[70] CICERO, *On Divination*, 1, 119.

[71] In Virgil's definition (*Georgics*, II, v. 495). The precedent was given by Pompey's same ambition ("*tetrarchae regesque tenet* [the battlefield] *magnique tyranni/ atque omnis Latio quae servit purpura ferro*", LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, 7, 227-228), who, after the victory over Mithridates, wanted to wear a purple cloak that had belonged to Alexander the Great (APPIAN, *The Mithridatic Wars*, 117, 577).

[72] FLORUS, *Epitome of Roman History*, 2, 21, 3.

[73] He too wore purple garments, but made a point of doing so *ut me populus Romanus dicat bene cultum*, and not to show off royal insignia (MACROBIUS, *Saturnalia*, 2, 4, 14). According to what Suetonius ("Caesar", *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 84, 1-2) and Cassius Dio (*Roman History*, 56, 34) tell us, the funeral bier for both Caesar and Augustus was draped in rich cloths of purple - according to a custom that was then to be taken up by the other emperors.

[74] The Porphyry head, now in Palazzo Doria, Rome, once identified as the prefect of Egypt Cornelius Gallo (from 30 to 27 BC), is today also assigned almost unanimously to the modern age.

While little space was reserved in Augustus's policy of *primus inter pares* for those forms of self celebration that already in the purple, and shortly after also in Porphyry, were to have so much success, the same cannot be said of his successors. A stele dated 23 July 18 BC dedicates the discovery of a black Porphyry quarry on the north-west slopes of Gebel Abu Dukhan by Gaius Cominius Leugas to Min, the tutelary god of the eastern desert (assimilated by the Romans to Pan).[75] This, which is the first attestation of the word "Porphyry", as well as being the oldest inscription found in those places, shows that from the time of Tiberius[76] there was a lively interest in this coloured marble and the mineral deposits of the region.[77]

Under Caligula, however, who dressed his horse Incitatus in *purpurea tegumenta*,[78] and had Ptolemy of Mauretania killed for daring to enter his presence *fulgore purpureae abollae*,[79] there was a consistent intensification in the activity of the Porphyry quarries. This is demonstrated by the fact that Vitrasio Pollione, who in the famous passage from Pliny is indicated as the first to take Porphyry statues to Rome,[80] had actually been nominated prefect of Egypt by Gaius, and held that office for only a short time after the ascent of Claudius to the throne: from which it may be assumed that the marble for those statues had probably already been quarried under the first emperor, whose Hellenising tastes are well known.

The experts have long questioned why there was so little "consensus", according to what Pliny tells us, for Porphyry in the capital when it made its debut there in the court of Claudius. The most probable explanation is that formulated in 1964 by Maria Luisa Lucci,[81] whose basis is a letter the emperor wrote to the Alexandrians in 41. She notes that, in the Roman sphere, where "what was incumbent on men and what on the gods was still distinct", Claudius was forced to make an embarrassing choice between accepting the gift from Alexandria, thus showing that he respected the ancient local customs of celebrating the sovereign, and not running up against the "sensitivity" of the senate, which, after the *damnatio memoriae* of Caligula, certainly did not look kindly on any form of dynastic cult. Confirmation that there was a marked interest in Claudius's court for the richest of materials, especially coloured marbles, is in any case given by the naming of the Egyptian quarry "Mons Claudianus" (white and black granite of the Forum), which clearly certifies the stimulus given by this emperor to the exploitation of the mineral resources in those sites.

FIG. 13. ROME, SAN BARTOLOMEO ALL'ISOLA. DETAIL OF BATH TUB-SARCOPHAGUS (SEE L21).

By now considered an atavistic memory of the republican era, the generic disapproval of any kind of luxury (not without a certain kind of rhetoric) on the part of obstinate censors of costume (such as Pliny) had in the mid first century completely given way to a strong cultural, artistic and ideological attraction of the Hellenistic style, to which imperial Rome now seemed to fully succumb.[82] Cities like Pergamum, Antioch and especially Alexandria had ceased to be distant provinces, with eccentric customs and decadent tastes, and become instead favoured reference models for emperors distinguished by strong orientalising tendencies, and by an approach to power that was essentially charismatic and personalist. Like every other form of despotism, though, that of the emperor also required a shared legitimisation, which only a chromatic language of propaganda and self-promotion was able to ensure: the same language that had for some time found an indispensable political instrument in the use of the royal colour, both in its textile form and as stone, albeit merely for construction (fig. 13).

The emperor who understood the power of the universal message and how to make use of it in original ways was certainly Nero, who more than all the other Roman emperors aimed at totally embodying the egocentric function of his sovereignty. Far from accepting the moralist reproofs of his tutor in matters of the ostentation of wealth and aesthetic excesses,[83] he preferred to give vent

[75] The inscription reads: "Gaius Cominius Leugas, who discovered the quarries of Porphyry and knekites and black Porphyry and (discovered) various coloured stones, dedicated a temple to Pan and Serapis, powerful gods, for the health of his sons. Year 4 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, 23 July".

[76] Suetonius also mentions Tiberius's predilection for mineral sites: "*plurimis etiam civitatibus et privatis veteres immunitates et ius metallorum ac vectigalium adempta*" ("Tiberius", *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 49).

[77] As seems also to be shown by a fragment of grey granite found near the village of Lykabettos on Mons Porphyrites, which also contains a prayer to Pan made by a certain Apollonius Longinus in 27.

[78] SUETONIUS, "Gaius", *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 55, 3.

[79] IBID., 35.

[80] "Vitrasio Pollione, procurator of Claudius, brought statues made of this marble to Rome for the emperor, but the innovation had no great consensus; indeed, no one then imitated him" (PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History*, XXXVI, 57). It must be remembered that at the time of Pliny the Alexandrian grammarian Apion, known as Plistonices, was teaching in Rome, whose treatise *Egyptian Stones* was an essential source for the Roman historian on matters relating to marbles from Egypt, including Porphyry itself.

[81] LUCCI 1964, fasc. 2, pp. 226-271.

[82] "Rome, with its ecumenical empire, seems to clearly conclude the Hellenistic historical process" (POLYBIUS, *Histories*, XXXV, 9.7).

[83] "...But, when there are no witnesses or spectators, do those vices that they like to put on display disappear? Who wears a garment of purple that no one sees?" (SENECA, *Moral Letters to Lucilius*, 93, 69-70); "Suppose that the property of many rich men is heaped up in your possession. Assume that fortune carries you far beyond the limits of a private income, decks you with gold, clothes you in purple, and brings you to such a degree of luxury and wealth that you can bury the earth under your marble" (IBID. 16, 8).

to his megalomania by fishing with a *rete aurato et purpura coccoque finibus nexis*, or parading himself on his victorious return from the Greek games in Augustus's triumphal chariot *in veste purpurea distinctaque stellis aureis chlamyde*.[84] The interminable exhibitions of his histrionic egotism were to Ahenobarbus a perfect opportunity to show off his inordinate love of luxury and autocracy, without any need for moderation. Such passion was expressed in his manifold inventiveness, the same that made him decorate his immense home with Porphyry and precious marbles,[85] dress in magnificent clothes of Hellenistic style, and even conceive a fraudulent prohibition by which to punish the foolishness of a married woman to the point of publicly stripping her of her possessions, including her *vestita purpura*.[86] So it is no surprise that a mind such as his was the first to imagine a *solium porphyretici marmoris* for his mortal remains, worthy only of an Apollonian divinity.

The wholly Neronian fashion for purple pomp did not last long, temporarily falling into oblivion with the two emperors who followed him. The policy of Vespasian and then Titus was particularly attentive to traditional mores and the prerogatives of the senate, so there was little inclination to indulge in overly eccentric or exotic manifestations of autocracy.

Such was not the case, however, with the last exponent of the Flavian dynasty who, unlike his predecessors, let himself be seduced by the Hellenistic practice of a flashily celebrated regality. Like Nero, Domitian tenaciously promoted a propaganda campaign of imperial power and the sacred figure of the sovereign, who necessarily had to assume certain ways of exhibiting pomp and power that were of obvious oriental origin. His court did not renounce any of the distinctive attributes of the *basileus*: the purple dye adorned his *toga Graecanica* during the Capitoline games, while the Porphyry of the impressive columns and paving inlays enhanced his *domus par coelo*,[87] where the emperor shone like the largest of the planets in the centre of the Beneventan firmament.[88]

The Rome of those years had by now completed the process begun by Nero of accepting Porphyry, and the aesthetic imagination of the more well-off aristocracy had broadly taken on its symbolic value of recognised preciousness and royal luxury. Statius, a sophisticated singer of a patrician elite, sang of its beauty in the nuptial apartment of Stella and Videntilla, where, mixed among the "Libyan and Phregian marble," the Porphyry made "the purples of Ebalo and the cauldron stoker turn pale with envy", or in the rich baths of Claudius Etruscus "where that marble with the colour of the purple of Tyre and Sidone" intersected "the white background".[89]

From the emperors by adoption to the Severans

"...You could thus banish the purple covers, the sumptuous tables and all superfluous things, seeing that the rich use the same things as the poor".[90] Plutarch's pointed words precisely describe the atmosphere in Rome in the second century, when the market for purple reached its peak, being no longer regimented by restrictive controls, but on the contrary stimulated by its indiscriminate misuse by almost all social classes. Although the court continued to account for its main consumption, the redundancy of the phenomenon among others had become such that the reaction to unrestrained luxury had increased the ranks of those moralists whose main weapon of offence was the scourge of satire.[91]

Although Martial had never ceased railing against the opulence of certain garments, directing his indignation both towards the excessive cost and the effrontery with which they were displayed,[92] the baton of the most violent censure had in the meantime passed into the hands of Juvenal, who denounced the vices and corruption of a society in which even the itinerant fish trader had the faculty of seeming *purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati*;[93] given that no skill was requested to obtain credit, *spondet enim Tyrio stalataria purpura filo*, it being sufficient merely to appear: *purpura vendit | causidicum vendunt amethystina*.[94]

[84] SUETONIUS, "Nero", *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 30, 6; 25, 1-2.

[85] "We take delight in tall columns of veined marble brought either from Egyptian sands or from African deserts to hold up a colonnade or a dining-hall large enough to contain a city crowd; we admire walls veneered with a thin layer of marble, although we know the while what defects the marble conceals" (SENECA, *Moral Letters to Lucilius*, 115, 8-9). Even Father Lemoyne, in reconstructing the scene of Nero condemning Seneca to death, after having been gratified by the vision of the city consumed by flames, writes: "The Porphyry baluster on which you see him resting is the same, according to what is said, as that on which, to the noise and light of Rome burning, he recently sang of the flames of Troy" (*La Galerie des femmes fortes...*, 1647, p. 246).

[86] "Having forbade anyone to use the colours of amethyst and Tyrian purple, he privately sent a person to sell a few ounces of them upon the day of Nundinae, and then shut up all the merchants' shops on the pretext that his edict had been violated. It is said that, as he was playing and singing in the theatre, observing a married lady dressed in purple, which he had prohibited, he pointed her out to the procurators, upon which she was immediately dragged out of her seat, and not only stripped of her clothes, but her property" (SUETONIUS, "Nero", *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 32, 5). Confirmation that purple circulated everywhere, especially among the wealthier classes, is given with a certain caricatural flavour by Petronius: "that *parvenu* Trimalcione who presented himself to his fellow diners comically adorned in a *pallio coccineo* out of which his head could barely be seen, had not only prepared a dazzling pretext for his obsequies in *pompa magna*, but even boasted to extend his magnanimity to the slave robbed of his *vestimenta cubitoria*, only because those clothes were *Tyria sine dubio, sed iam semel lota*" (*Satyricon*, 32, 2; 78, 1; and 30, 7-11).

[87] MARTIAL, *Epigrams*, 8, 36, vv. 11ff.

[88] STATIUS, *Silvae*, IV, 2.

[89] See IBID., I, 2, vv. 148f.; and I, 5, vv. 34ff. It seems that important products in Porphyry were still found in Pollius Felice's Sorrento villa (IBID., II, 2, vv. 85-93).

[90] PLUTARCH, *De cupiditate divitiarum*, 527 B; see also D: "What is necessary and useful in wealth has been buried under what is useless and superfluous", ID., *Moralia I: "La serenità interiore" e altri testi sulla terapia dell'animo*, 1989, pp. 493-495.

[91] Much before, in his *Epistles*, Horace wrote: "*Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,| argentum, vestes Gaetulo murice tinctas| sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere*" (2, 2, 180-182).

[92] Among the many passages in which the poet criticises the misuse of purple garments as a symptom of riches won, see Martial, *Epigrams*, 4, 19, 4 and 12; and 6, 11, 7; for indications of prices, see ibid., 8, 10; and 10, 41, 8. Along the same line as Pliny, who had written: "The lunacy of purple may be excused; but from whence comes the price given to the shells, whose dye emits a putrid smell and whose colour is of a dark green like the surly sea?" (PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History*, IX, 138), Martial mocks this particular detail of the odour "*olidaeque vestes murice*" (*Epigrams*, 1, 49, 32); "*bis murice vellus inquinatum*" (IBID., 4, 4, 6). His untiring imagination is even able to generate hilarity imagining a kind of personification of purple: "*Ebria Sidoniae cum sim de sanguine conchae, | non video quare sobria lana vocer*" (IBID., 14, 154).

[93] JUVENAL, *Satires*, 4, 31.

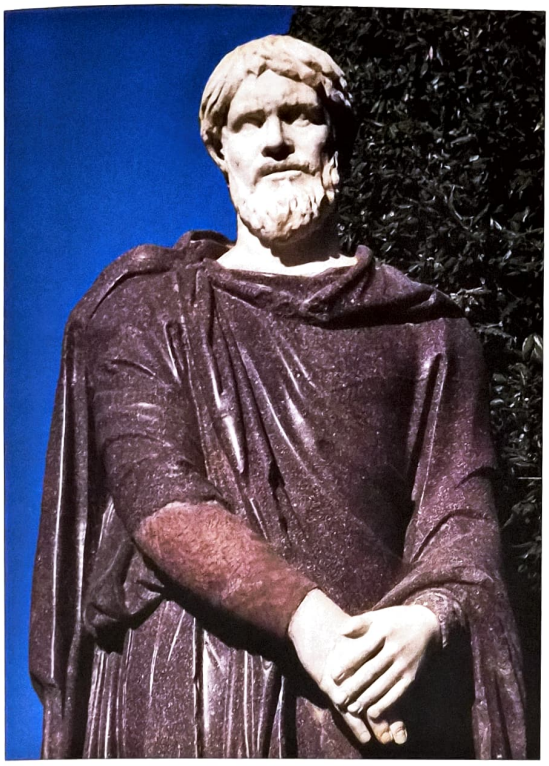


Fig. 14. Florence, Boboli Gardens.
Dacian captive from Rome excavations (see S17).

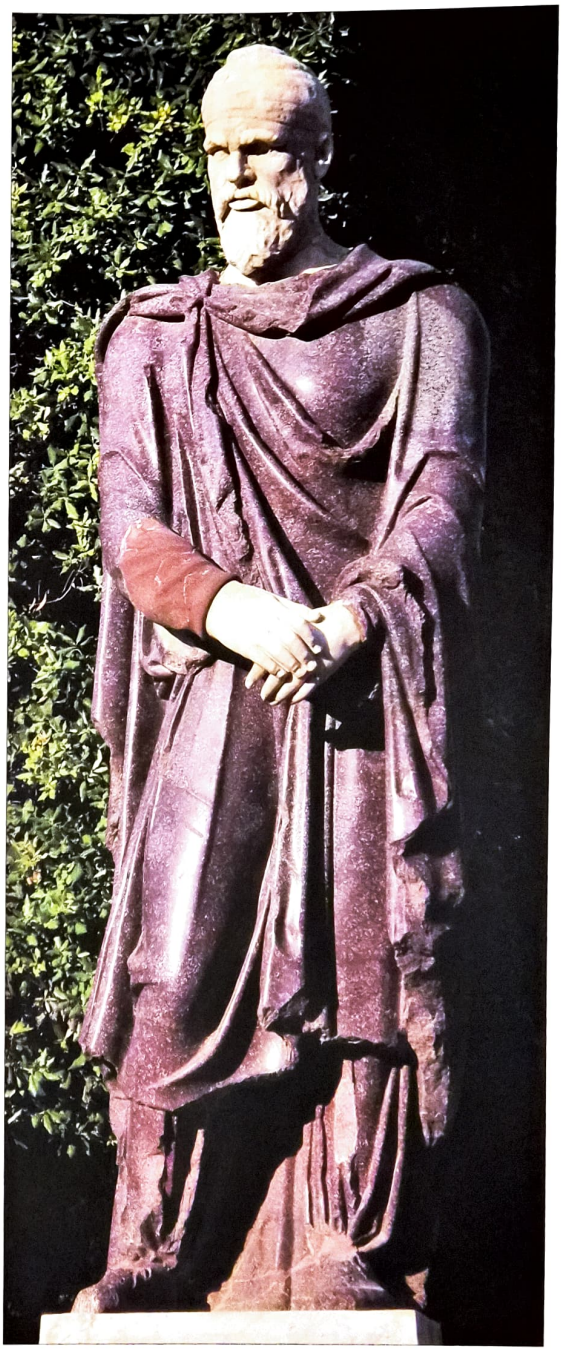


Fig. 15. Florence, Boboli Gardens.
Dacian captive from Rome excavations (see S16).

In this period, when the profligate capital of the empire *set no limits to extravagance*, scholars record a considerable increase in the presence of items made in Porphyry. Marked primarily by the intensification of building work and the consequent request for statues and architectural elements of a certain value, the fashion of the time for the purple stone reverberated through a whole series of significant provisions: new roads were built in the eastern desert of the Thebaid, equipped with military garrisons (*stationes*) and wells for the supply of water (*hydreumata*); other quarries able to meet the massive increase in the demand for this material were opened; the miners settlements were expanded; and above all a plan for the workings of the hierarchies and responsibilities that governed this immense extractive industry was definitively formulated.[95]

The increase in the production and working of this marble was not only due to, but in some ways also symptomatic of, a development of the monarchy towards more thoroughly and con-

[94] "...For that foreign robe of his, with its Tyrian purple, gains him credit. These gentlemen get profit out of this display; the purple or the violet robe brings practice to a lawyer; it pays him to live with a racket and an appearance beyond his means, and wasteful Rome sets no limits to extravagance" (Juvenal, *Satires*, 7, 134-138).

[95] The intensification of the works in the quarrying areas of Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus is unequivocably confirmed by several epigraphic inscriptions of great archaeological importance: the first was carved on an *aedicula* built by a centurion of the Roman *vigiles* and provided with Porphyry columns; the one on the architrave of the temple of Isis Megiste can rather be dated to 113, given that the person mentioned by the name of Marcus Rutilius Lupus was prefect of Egypt under Trajan in exactly those years. There is then a dedication in the temple of Serapis to the same emperor, found on Mons Claudianus and dating from around 114: "The architect Apollonius son of Ammonius, Alexandrian, has dedicated (this altar) to Zeus Sun great Serapis, for the fortune of the emperor Caesar Trajan and the good outcome of all his affairs, Enclopios being procurator (*metallorum*) and Quintus Accius Optatus centurion". The more complete inscription that has come down to us is the one found on the architrave of the Serapeo on Gebel Abu Dukhan and dated 28 April 118: "For the salvation and perpetual victory of Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus and all his household and for the good outcome of the actions undertaken by him Epaphrodeitus Seigerianus, slave, metal contractor, dedicates the temple and all the things around the temple to Zeus Sun great Serapis and the gods venerated in the same temple, when Rammius Martialis was prefect of Egypt, procurator of Chresimos metal freed slave of Augustus... Second Year of Emperor Caesar Trajan Augustus, 28 April."

FIG. 16. ROME, SAN GIOVANNI, BAPTISTERY (SEE C5).

sciously autocratic forms. The theoretical notions that had until then restrained this development, anchoring the imperial authority to certain traditional parameters of the display of power, had gradually disappeared from Trajan's expansionist policy. Presenting himself as the new Alexander the Great, whose apotheosis he thought to have assumed by simply wearing his hat, the Spanish-born emperor understood the need to accompany his oriental conquests with inordinate ideological propaganda that, bringing back into vogue the prerogatives of the Hellenistic sovereigns, could meet the changing needs of the representation of regality (figs. 14-15).[96] Captivated by the hieratic fascination of Porphyry, Hadrian also understood its evocative potential, often using it not only to gratify his studied artistic sensitivity, but also to embody the principal aspects of a classicist and antiquarian culture, of which the emperor presented himself as the most refined interpreter. Indeed, having abandoned his predecessor's pretentions of conquest, Hadrian made himself the promoter of a philo-Hellenistic cultural revolution that, while retaining the authenticity of a certain Roman spirit (*senatores et equites Romanos semper in publico togatos esse iussit*; such that *ipse, cum in Italia esset, semper togatus processit*[97]), opened up to admiration of those aesthetic canons that had been the glory of ancient civilisations, like the Greek or the Egyptian. In accordance with the dictates of a kind of *imitatio* of oriental style and archaic beauty, the statuary and architectural creations of Hadrian's age used the purple stone for figurative models inherited from Alexandrian workshops, accompanying them with the now canonical features of Greek art. Baths and cups in simple forms and with an Egyptising style were produced in abundance, alongside toga-clad torsos and busts;[98] monumental Porphyry columns (fig. 16) were quarried from the Thebaic mountains and sent to the big provincial cities to furnish temples and gymnasia;[99] and even the ashes of the enlightened sovereign were consigned to the custody of a basin of *Rosso Antico* (one of the names for Porphyry), to immortalise his memory and preserve his fame.[100]

Although even some glaring exceptions were tolerated, the use of Porphyry in those years began to be commonly perceived as the exclusive prerogative of the royal house, due precisely to its symbolic nature, which so perfectly conformed to imperial aims, but also its prohibitive cost. This explains Antoninus Pius's amazement when, on asking his host Homullus about the provenance of some Porphyry columns in his luxurious residence, he was answered with a certain frown "*cum in domum alienam veneris et mutus et surdus est*":[101] a fairly ill-concealed allusion to their fraudulent origin.

After the pause marked by the reign of Marcus Aurelius, purple vestments sensationally resumed their political-propaganda value with Commodus. While the exemplary sobriety of the father, who in this colour saw the most pernicious aspects of power,[102]

[96] One of the military victories Trajan had in mind to celebrate with Porphyry was certainly the conquest of Dacia: this is shown by the five splendid statues depicting five Dacian kings held prisoner; three taken to Florence by Ferdinand de' Medici, who bought them from the collection of Andrea della Valle, and another two now in the Louvre, and that before being given insertions in white marble by Pietro Bernini, which greatly aroused the curiosity of Aldrovandi, who was able to admire them in Palazzo Savelli around 1562 ("*nel frontespicio de la loggia sono due Re cattivi in porfido in pie vestiti con calzoni all'antica*"), see ALDROVANDI 1558, p. 220.

[97] *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, "Hadrian", 22, 2-4.

[98] Giovanni Favella described them with hearty banter in 1880 in his *Un viaggio a Roma senza vedere il papa*: "*...Oh che ghigno falso hanno quei Cesari? Che colli grossi e torosi! Come stanno da padroni e da machioni, avviluppati nella loro toga rossa di porfido, o nel loro paludamento rigato di marmo cipollino*" (ch. 5).

[99] Indeed, it is known that Hadrian donated ninety for construction of the gymnasium at Smyrna.

[100] The complicated destiny reserved for this monument has always been the subject of debate in the scientific community: it is known for certain that it suffered a series of dismemberings and removals, due to the ambition of a number of sovereigns and popes to have their own urn in antique Porphyry. In any case the most accredited voice on its conformation is that of D'ONOFRIO 1978, in which the author writes: "It is a model descended from the most archaic (even if then repeated) anthropomorphic sarcophagus, whose external lines repeated the form of the embalmed body of the person buried in it. In the type to which this one belongs, the lines appear stylised: laterally two long, parallel sides, at the foot the short straight side; at the head arched. Regarding the dimensions, however, the Roman sarcophagus exceeds them considerably: the Egyptian ones do not go beyond three metres in length, while ours is 3.68 metres; so given the due proportions and considering that the Roman cover seems deeper than the Egyptian models, including the tub it must have had a height from the ground of between 1.8 and 2 metres: a gigantic burial!"

[101] *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, "Antonius Pius", 2, 8.

[102] The sorrowful invitation he makes to himself to not "stain" himself with purple is paradigmatic in this sense: "Take care you don't degenerate into the manners of the Cesars, or be tinctured by them. Preserve your simplicity of manners, goodness, integrity, gravity, freedom from ostentation, love of justice, piety, good nature, kind affection, stedfast firmness in your duty" (MARCUS AURELIUS, *Meditations*, VI, 30). We remember that to swell the coffers exhausted by the costs of war, Marcus Aurelius put up for auction *omnem apparatum imperatorium pubblice vendiderat* (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, "Elagabalus", 19, 1).

Fig. 17. Paris, private collection. Porphyry vase of a possible "Marriage of Cana" type (see V27).

Fig. 20a. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Museum. Urn acquired by the Dumbarton Oaks Museum in 1941 from Rome (see V33).

Fig. 18. Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Museum. One of the "Marriage of Cana" type Porphyry vases (see V26).

Fig. 19. Benevento, Archaeological Museum of Sannio. Cista with snake and moon from the Roman Iseum of Benevento (see V29).

Fig. 20b. London, Rainer Zietz Collection. "Marriage of Cana" type vase (see V7), very similar to the Angers vase, see entry V6.

was manifested in a fairly moderate and intentionally circumscribed use only at official ceremonies, the impetuous son, on the contrary, gave proof of his usual vanity presenting himself in the arena *panno purpureo nudos umeros advelans*,[103] and managing even to allow the usurper Clodius Albino the imperial *utendi coccini pallii facultatem*.[104] But despite this swift return of affection for the Phoenician pigment, moreover markedly ideologised by Commodus himself, there does not seem to have been an equivalent impulse to create products in Porphyry, which remained in any case a normal prerogative of the imperial court.

Things gradually changed with the Severan dynasty, particularly with Septimius Severus, who, though tending to give a good example in periods of crisis with regard to luxury of apparel (*tam esigui vestibus usus est ut vix et tunica eius aliquid purpurae haberet*),[105] proved so intent on immortalising his name that everywhere he went, in Britain and elsewhere, he took with him a Porphyry vase, which was intended to "contain a man that the whole world was unable to contain" (figs. 17-20).[106] But it was mainly with Caracalla first and more so then with Elagabalus and Severus Alexander that the accentuated apotheosis of the monarch, combined with a powerful religious syncretism and the effects of the orientalisation of the empire, led on the one hand to the intensified exploitation of the deposits on Mons Igneus, and on the other to the workshops of luxury purple being brought under direct imperial control. While the former chose grand Porphyry columns for the *frigidarium* of his baths, and with similar ideological nonchalance laid his purple chlamys over the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great,[107] it was the last two Severans who had the merit of attributing the Tyrian hue and its stone substitute a much more distinctive value of imperial power. The plan conceived by Elagabalus to pave the Palatine in Porphyry is well known, or to build a gigantic column in the same material on the model of those of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, with an inside staircase and crowned at the top by a gilt statue of Emperor Helios.[108] It was rather the solicitude of Severus Alexander, a fairly sober man in questions of clothing and display,[109] who brought about not only the institutionalisation in Roman building of the *opus sectile* that from him takes its name - though it was actually already in vogue under his predecessor - but also the legislative disposition that put all the city's dye shops under the direct control of the imperially nominated *procuratores baphiorum*.[110]

It is evident that all these provisions aimed at allowing the royal household a monopoly over such luxurious materials as purple and Porphyry were none other than clear early signs of the move towards forms of exclusive use that were to occur shortly after with the shift from the principality to a divinely invested monarchy.

Portents of purple

- The reign of Clodius Albinus (196-197) was heralded by the birth of a white bull with purple horns (*Historia Augusta*, "Life of Clodius Albinus", 5).
- The reign of Geta (211) was heralded by the laying of a purple hen's egg and the birth of a lamb with purple wool on its forehead (*Historia Augusta*, "Life of Geta", 3).
- The reign of Diadumenianus (217-218) was heralded by the birth of a good twelve lambs the colour of Porphyry (*Historia Augusta*, "Life of Diadumenianus", 4).
- The reign of Severus Alexander (222-235) was heralded by the laying of a purple pigeon's egg and by a dream of his own mother, who gave birth to two Porphyry snakes (*Historia Augusta*, "Life of Severus Alexander", 13).
- The reign of Aurelian (270-275) was heralded by the birth of a big calf, white apart from a purple mark on both sides, one forming the word *AVE!* the other in the form of a crown (*Historia Augusta*, "Life of Aurelian", 4).

Diocletian and the tetrarchy

Although a process of standardising the use of purple in the imperial insignia had already begun with Hadrian, it was not until the drastic institutional turn made by Diocletian towards clear instances of the *princeps* being sacralised that what had always been perceived as the privileged attribute of the royal *paludamentum* ascended to being exclusively an emblem of absolute power.

[103] *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, "Commodus", 15, 3.

[104] IBID., "Clodius Albinus", 2, 5. His passion for purple was so unrestrained that his wet-nurse gave him the nickname Porphyrio, in that *purpurea matris inligatus est fascea* (IBID., 5, 9).

[105] IBID., "Severus", 19, 7 ("... *cum hirta chlamyde umeros velaret*").

[106] CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History*, 77, 15.

[107] HERODIAN OF ANTIOCH, *History of the Roman Empire...*, IV, 8, 9.

[108] "... *stravit et saxis lacedaemoniis ac porphyreticis plateas in Palatio, quas antoninianas vocavit, quae saxa usque ad nostram memoriam manserunt, sed nuper eruta et exsecta sunt. Constituerat et columnam unam collocare ingentem, ad quam ascenderetur intrinsecus, ita ut in summo Heliogabalum deum collocaret, sed tantum saxum non invenit, cum id de Thebaide adferre cogitaret*" (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, "Elagabalus", 14, 6). From what can be understood, the project did not go ahead because of the difficulty of finding large blocks of Porphyry suited for the purpose. Only Constantine was subsequently able to do so in his eastern capital. It is interesting to note that Elagabalus believed so strongly in showing off economic prosperity he wanted all his court to be coloured in purple... even the ropes for a possible suicide "*paraverat igitur funes blatta et serico et cocco intortos, quibus, si necesse esset, laqueo vitam finire*" (IBID., 33, 3).

[109] From the information in our possession he emerges as a sober and moderate figure, with restrained tastes also in clothing: he almost always wore a chlamys and scarlet cloak, preferring to show himself less parsimonious in the sphere of building works (see *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, "Severus Alexander", 4, 2; 33, 3-4; 34, 5; but also 41, 1, 2; 42, 1).

[110] The *ratio purpurarum* was a separate department in the administration of the treasury entrusted to the *procurator thesaurorum*. The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, "Severus Alexander", 40, 6, speaks of the decision "to sell at a very high price a kind of precious purple that he had had woven not for his own use, but for the women that wanted it, and still today it is called Alessandrina by some, while most call it Probiana, because it was a dyer by the name of Aurelius Probo who discovered that process".

This transcendental development of monarchical absolutism – previously attempted by the Severans and Aurelian, but codified only by Diocletian – based on an essentially ideological principal, could not but resort to exaggerated rhetoric, capable of supporting the effective exercise of supreme power and the legitimate aspiration to this with a complex characterising symbology (fig. 21).

Although being formally implemented in the wake of a certain historical continuity with the past, Diocletian's move (*qui imperio Romano primus regiae consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanae libertatis invexerit adorarique se iusserit*)[111] took the form of a considerable enhancement of the ceremonial apparatus by the adoption of new ways of representing royalty borrowed from the ancient oriental civilisations. Indeed, the introduction of the *externus et regius mos* was made by bringing together ancestral Persian traditions and the customs of the Hellenistic near east. It combined the ancient προσκύνησις, once claimed even by Alexander,[112] and the *adoratio purpurae*, consisting principally of kneeling to kiss the hem of the purple raiment, into a single complicated rite. This was undoubtedly a qualitative leap in both the ceremonial and the ideology behind it, which inevitably led to a visual consolidation of the object of veneration: so that, while previously *imperii insigne in chlamyde purpurea tantum erat, reliqua communia*, with the introduction of the *adoratio, cum ante eum* (Diocletian) *cuncti salutarentur*, the liturgical wardrobe was decisively enriched with *ornamenta gemmarum vestibus calciamentisque*.

Fig. 21. Cairo, Egyptian Museum.
Bust of Emperor Diocletian from Athribis (see B16).

In this profound transformation of the political ideology into an autocratic and metaphysical interpretation, the studied use of the *lapis purpureus* became immediately essential for the celebration of absolute power and the sacralisation of the sovereign, and, by extension, the symbology of his power also found its own distinctive sign. Defined as φιλοκτίστης, because animated by a *infinita quaedam cupiditas aedificandi*, Diocletian made Porphyry into the most paradigmatic expression of that regality-divinity pairing that he thought he embodied, decreeing that this marble be given the task of exclusively representing the imperial sovereignty, both in statuary and in architectural decoration.[113] This gave rise, with previously unseen fervour, to more intensive use of the mineral resources on Mons Porphyrites, responding to the changed building needs with the opening of new quarries and enhancement of the existing ones by building new and more serviceable ramps for moving the blocks (primarily those at the mouth of Wadi Umm Sidri). But above all there was a massive exploitation of forced labour, made up largely of Christians *damnati ad metalla* who were typically employed in the back-breaking work of extracting and roughing out the pieces.[114]

One of the richest testimonies of details about this ferocious practice is provided not only by Eusebius of Caesarea who experienced such persecution personally,[115] but also by the account in the *Passio Quattuor Coronatorum* of which the original text in

[111] The citations relating to the innovations made by Diocletian are taken from Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*, 9, 26. But an equally interesting source is Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, 39, 4; along with Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History*, 15, 5, 18.

[112] See Virgilio 2003, pp. 39-41.

[113] The presence of Porphyry in the *Edictum de pretiis* called for by Diocletian suggests that there was not a genuine imperial monopoly on this marble, but that a certain quantity of the quarried stone ended up in a private market, which in any case must have had few buyers given its prohibitive cost.

[114] Domenico Gnoli ideally avenges so much atrocity in the following admirable lines:

Battete i magli, rompete i porfidi | fiammanti, acute le seghe stridano!
e sollevate i cori | giacenti, o confessori!

Oh se sapeste per che basiliche | tagliate i marmi de la Tebaide!
Per che tombe e che altari | attraversano i mari

carche de' grandi massi le zattere! | Levate i cori, ne la letizia
battete gli scalpelli | mansueti ribelli!
(*Ad Metalla. Vecchie e Nuove Odi Tiberine*, Bologna, 1898).

[115] The following can be read in his *History of the Martyrs in Palestine*: "The storm against the Church had been raging for five years; and a great multitude of confessors languished in the Thebaid, in a locality called Porphyrite after a Porphyry quarry there. Ninety-seven of them – men, women and boys – were sent to the governor of Palestine, Firmilianus, who succeeded Urbanus. Finding them constant in their faith, he ordered that the joints of their left foot be branded with a red-hot iron and their right eye taken out and the wound cauterised down to the roots, then he condemned them to forced labour in the mines of the province" (Eusebius 1955, p. 40). In a translation by William Curenton of 1861, which used a different manuscript translation, there are also some other interesting details: "Up to the sixth year of the persecution which was in our days, the storm which had been raised against us was still raging; and great multitudes of confessors were in the mines which are called Porphyrites, in the country of Thebais, which is on one side of Egypt; *and on account of the purple marble which is in that land, the name of Porphyrites has also been given to those who were employed in cutting it. This name, therefore, was also extended to those great multitudes of confessors who were under sentence of condemnation in the whole of the land of Egypt*: for there were a hundred martyrs there all but three..." (Ibid., p. 29).

[116] The reference edition is that of H. Delehaye, "Acta sanctorum novembris", III (n.p., n.n., 1910), dies 5-8, ch. 3-4, p. 767, 5. For the English translation see p. 69.

Fig. 22. Alexandria, Archaeological Museum.
Seated togaed statue of a tetrarchic emperor (see S42).

Fig. 23. Caesarea Maritima.
Seated togaed statue of an emperor (see S41).

Fig. 24. Venice, Piazza San Marco.
Statue of the tetrarchs from Constantinople (see S50).

Fig. 25. Zajecar (Romuliana), National Museum.
Head of Emperor Galerius (see H26).

Latin and for the first time translations in Italian and English are included in this book[116]. This legendary account, on whose historical veracity a *vexata quaestio* (that has not yet found a solution)[117] has been open for some time, is an extremely precious source of information on the methods of working Porphyry at the Thebaid quarries, the types of product made with it, and even the times for making such objects. One learns also that Diocletian, *dilectatus in artem*, was in the habit of commissioning a vast range of items *ex metallo porphyritico* to decorate his numerous homes scattered about the provinces of the empire,[118] which often drew on the classical iconographic tradition (*...Et fecerunt concas, victorias, cupidines et Asclepium simulacrum [...] et leones fundentes aquas et aquilas et cervos et gentium multarum similitudine operamini*), on whose stylistic characterisation a *multitudo artificum et philosophi* was called on to supervise.[119]

Most of the portraits of this same emperor came from the eastern Egyptian desert, produced in different sizes (at times also gigantic) and sent to the most important provincial cities to be venerated as objects of worship. Impressive statues were carved in the royal colour of Porphyry such as the colossus of Alexandria (fig. 22) and that of Caesarea Maritima (fig. 23), the bust in Cairo, the tetrarch figures in Ravenna, Berlin and Vienna, and above all the celebrated groups of tetrarchs in Rome and Venice (fig. 24). The latter sculptural complex in particular belonged to a column at least eight metres high and was taken to Venice from Constantinople. The Italian poet Gabriele D'Annunzio in his *Il Fuoco* described its evocative essence as follows:

> At the corner of San Marco, near the Porta della Carta, she felt the four Porphyry kings clasping each other as for a compact while their tough fists grasp the hilt finishing in a hawk's beak, live as if they had been made of dark blood. The numberless veins of the various marbles with which the side of the temple is encrusted, those indistinct threads of different colours, those intertwined labyrinths and meanders, seemed to make her own interior diversity visible, and the very confusion of her thoughts.[120]

As is easy to deduce from an immediate analysis of the works cited above, the old figurative schemes of Hellenistic origin calling for dynamic expressiveness and a certain naturalism of feature had by now been abandoned in the sculpture and especially the imperial portraiture of the Diocletian age. They had given way to a new stylistic language that, hinging on a static abstraction of the figure and a physiognomy lacking in individuality, was intended to represent the earthly and divine image of the universal monarch. This expressive code favouring massive forms and tetragons in place of any naturalist composition arose out of a profound spiritual change that started from a political-economic crisis at the end of the third century and was then manifested in a radical move of the cultural axis towards the eastern parts of the province (Antioch, Nicomedia), bringing well characterised artistic models.

In keeping with the supernatural character taken on by the emperor's persona and the recognised ideological value of the representation of his rule, the practice of using Porphyry for dynastic tombs, partly anticipated by Nero, Hadrian and Septimius Severus, with Diocletian ceased to be episodic and became a lasting custom.[121]

So it must be no surprise that, in a world so closely marked by symbologies of power, the linking of one's own name to the purple (even in death) was an essential condition for keeping the prerogatives of the crown alive, and at the same time defending (in preventive fashion) the monarchical function against the temptations of subversive plots. Wearing the purple or being represented in the corresponding marble meant being identified with sovereignty; conversely, putting off those garments, or losing them by force was akin to renouncing the supreme authority. Such was the case with the abdication of Diocletian (*uterque uno die privato habitu imperii insigne mutavit*[122]), and after his funeral rites, when an attempted sedition ended with the theft of the purple *velamen* in which his sepulchre had been wrapped.[123]

[117] An excellent bibliographic review on this subject has been made by Renzo Dionigi (DIONIGI 1998).

[118] The case of the palace in Spalato is exemplary, where the use of polychrome marbles, including Porphyry, is widely reported in the sources. It must also be noted that interesting finds of porphyritic objects have been made in other parts of the Balkan peninsula, particularly the Moesia Superior region (Serbia). These are mainly places where there were imperial villas or houses, such as Ganzigrad (*Felix Romuliana*), or Niš, where Galerius was Caesar (fig. 25). This series of finds compared with others in adjacent areas has prompted the scholar Zsolt Kiss to suggest the existence of a specialist workshop, of Egyptian origin, charged with working Porphyry at the exclusive request of the emperor.

[119] We are led to believe that the *artifices* and *philosophi* alluded to in the text were not so much court artists as has often been thought, but a delegation of experts given the task not of practically carrying out the requested work but of testing the quality of the best blocks and especially of reinterpreting the classical iconography according to the canons of the imperial fashion of the time, formulating figurative models capable of meeting the propaganda needs of the royal house.

[120] *The Flame of Life*, Wildside Press, 2007, p. 251.

[121] The sarcophagi that received the remains of Helen and Constance (now in the Vatican) were also probably made in this period (or even earlier in the time of Trajan and Hadrian) and only later reused by Constantine's family. As already noted, from this time on all the emperors were buried in Porphyry urns, up until 457 when this practice was interrupted with Marcian. After the Egyptian quarries were abandoned and with the consequent shortage of complete blocks, recourse was made to the existing production and its original purpose changed: such was the case with several Porphyry baths used as urns to contain the remains of some sovereigns, such as Maximian, Valentinian II - who, according to what Ambrose says (*Letters / Epistolae*, 1, 53), was buried in a *porphyreticum labrum pulcherrimum* - through to Theodoric himself, whose tomb can still be seen in his mausoleum at Ravenna.

[122] EUTROPIUS, *Abridgement of Roman History*, 9, 27, 2. But also in the words of AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *Roman History*, 14, 11, 20: "*ablatis regiis indumentis, Caesarem tunica texit et paludamento communi*".

[123] See AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *Roman History*, 16, 4. The same author also reports another episode of the imperial purple being usurped "... *idem Severi filium Severianum iam aetate robustum, qui fugientem Maximinum fuerat ex acie secutus, tamquam post obitum eius de sumenda purpura cogitavisset, capitali sententiae subiectum interemit*" (*De mortis persecutorum*, 50). The removal of the purple drapery from the deceased was actually also a custom in earlier times, as Alexander the Great himself had discovered. When visiting the tomb of Cyrus "...he found that all had been removed, except for the sarcophagus and the couch" (ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 6, 29, 5). The reuse also made by medieval popes of Porphyry imperial sepulchres, or of baths in the same material, may be interpreted as an attempt to usurp the old legitimisation of power, reclaiming it by acquiring one of its most distinctive symbols.

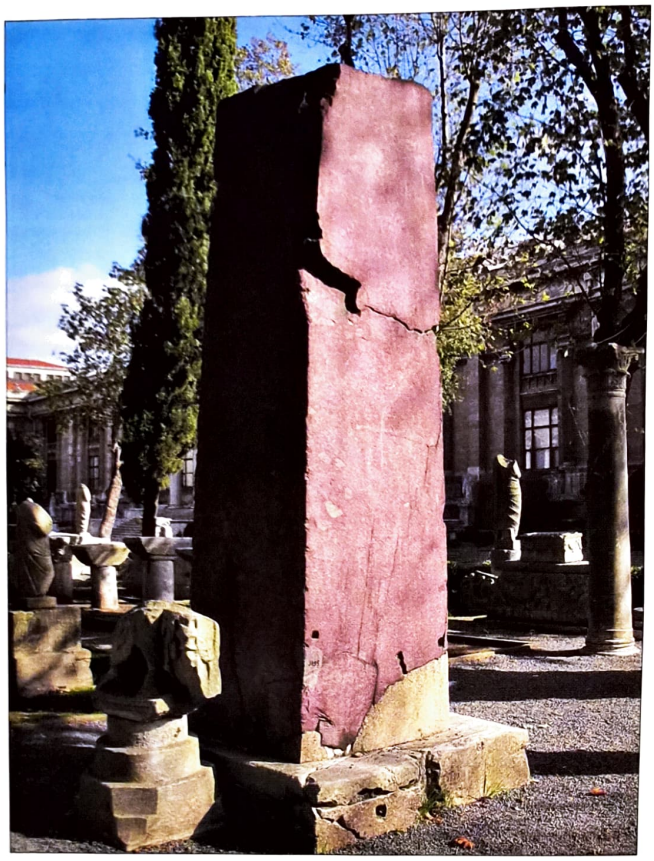


FIG. 26. ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.
FRAGMENT OF THE OBELISK FROM THE HIPPODROMOS (SEE C114).

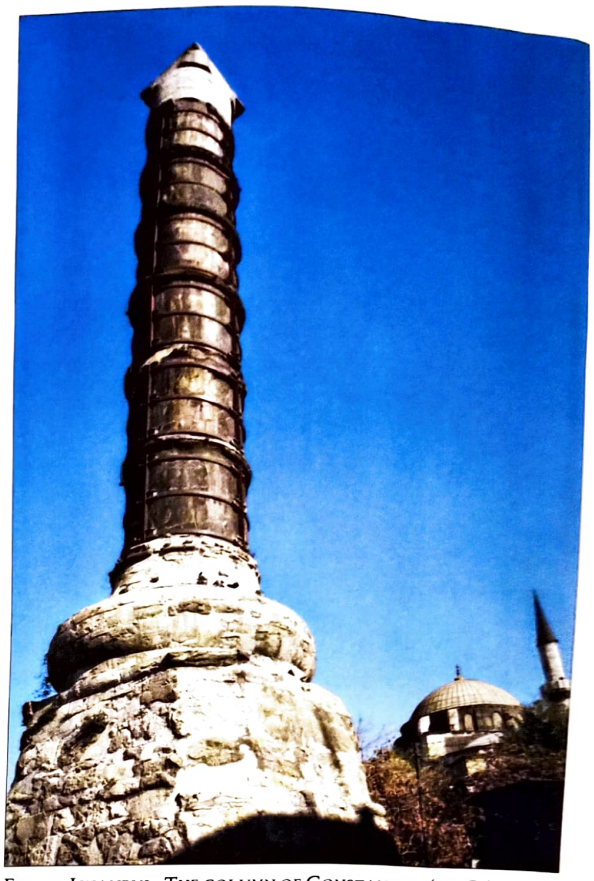


FIG. 27. ISTANBUL. THE COLUMN OF CONSTANTINE (SEE C1).

Constantine and the Byzantine empire

While the glowing colour of the *ostrum* had been wholly suited to Diocletian's project of sacralising the imperial rank, it was only with the radical political-religious transformation made by Constantine that the synonymous use of purple and Porphyry was wholly codified in the imperious and ecumenical terms of *instrumentum regni*. The legitimisation of the sovereign tended to be made on purely formalistic bases and the value system of the purple took on a much more ceremonial connotation, which was no longer only that of the *indumentum regale*,[124] but also became the visual testimony of a divine choice, the liturgy of a new *religio*. A conscious interpreter of a religious duality (pagan and Christian), Constantine was able to skilfully apply the dictates of a renewed formal language to the complex symbology of Porphyry, while at the same time remaining within the bounds of a proven programme of imperial apotheosis. Obvious verification of this is the use made of the purple marble to decorate the new eastern capital, which, according to the *Παραστάσεις* (of the eighth to ninth centuries) and the *Πάτρια* by Codinus, must have appeared to the eyes of both visitors and residents as an immense stage of extraordinary magnificence, on which the porphyritic sculptures and architectural elements had the primary task of lauding the royal household.[125]

The whole area of the *Philadelphion* was decorated with a rich sequence of *porphyreticae* works, arranged according to a precise scenographic order that, apart from offering the best perspective view, highlighted the magnificence of the figurations. In the centre there was a square-based pillar (a fragment that may have been part of it can be seen in the courtyard of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, fig. 26) with historiated reliefs and a golden, richly jewelled cross at the top. It was encircled by a statue of Constantine and Helen enthroned, a sculptural group with the emperor's two sons embracing, and another in which they appeared seated.[126] The Forum space was further embellished with various honorific columns, the most impressive being one built at Constantine's request using Porphyry drums probably brought from Rome or Alexandria. This monument, conserved mutilated and now known as the "burnt column", was greatly admired at the time because of its sheer size (fig. 27). Constantine

[124] "*...apud nos diadema et purpura solis imperatoribus datur*" (JEROME, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, 12, 45, 1); and John Chrysostom: "Only the king was allowed to wear purple and to bear the diadem on his head" (*In paralyticum*, 4).

[125] "*Roma Secunda, velut ipsius Romae filia*" (AUGUSTINE, *City of God*, V, 25).

[126] There is a letter from Manuel Chrysoloras to Emperor John, of 1415, in which the humanist makes reference to two seated statues in Porphyry that he interprets as the emblems of the ?αγορανομία and the ?αρχή (MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, 156, 21f., 46f.).

Rhodius numbered it among the seven wonders of the city in a poem written in the tenth century for Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Apart from its notable dimensions, pagan and Christian elements merged in it, as they did in Constantine's peculiar politics, along with veiled magical allusions. The gilt statue of Constantine-Helios[127] soared imperiously from its top, according to the custom of the celestial theophany of the emperor, while at its foot there was a collection of relics and various kinds of talisman, from the ancient Palladio brought from Rome to the nails of the crucifixion, the remains of the multiplied bread, the wood of the crosses of the two thieves and even the adze with which Noah built the ark.[128]

Apart from that of Constantine, the eastern capital of the empire contained other celebratory columns in Porphyry: one contemporary with that of the sovereign was dedicated to Saint Helen, and the other certainly later (*c.* 403), which stood in the *Pittakia* square and was surmounted by a silver statue of Empress Eudoxia, as confirmed by the Latin inscription found on its base in 1847:

Dominae Aeliae Eudoxiae semper Augustae
Simplicius praefectus urbis dedicavit.

But while the multiform imperial celebratory code took public form in the rich court statuary, the soaring honorific columns[129] and the paving inserts or precious dynastic sarcophagi,[130] the metaphorical power of the *divina purpura* found its private scenographic paradigm in a particular building known as the *Porphyra*. This was a room in the form of a cube with a pyramidal roof, made entirely from slabs of Porphyry and located with a precise orientation in the centre of the royal palace (fig. 28). According to Liutprand of Cremona, who was sent to the Byzantine court leading an embassy from Otto I in 968, this singular construction had been personally commissioned by Constantine ("*imperator augustus...domum istam edificare iussit, cui Porphyra nomen imposuit*"), so that inside it the empresses, wrapped in purple drapes of silk and surrounded by the glow of the Porphyry, brought their descendants into the world ("*voluitque successuram nobilitatis suae subolem isthic in lucem prodire*"), who would in that way assume the title of *porphyrogeniti* ("*quantinus, qui suo ex stemate nascerentur, luculenta hac apellatione Porphyrogeniti dicerentur*").[131] Contemporary sources also tell of another rite that was held in this precious room on 26 November every year, when, on the occasion of the *brumalia*, the queen symbolically renewed the memory of the porphyrogenitus birth distributing precious purples from the imperial monopoly to ladies of the highest rank.[132]

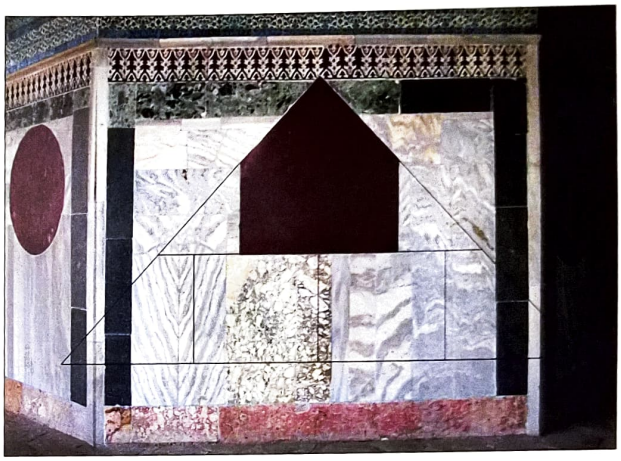


FIG. 28. ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI. PYRAMIDAL SLAB OF PORPHYRY WITH RECONSTRUCTION LINES FOR AN IDENTIFICATION OF THIS PIECE AS ONE COMING FROM THE PYRAMIDAL CEILING OF THE PORPHYROGENESIS ROOM IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

[127] The juxtaposition of the colour purple in both its textile and marble forms and the brilliance of gold has been one of the most fundamental elements in representing prestige and luxury since antiquity. The royal insignia given to Daniel for his truthful prophecy were of gold and purple; and Caesar also presented himself to his people dressed in a chlamys and on a golden saddle *illo die*, by which Cicero perceived his monarchical intentions. The precious metal is not only present on Constantine's column, but also on that of Empress Eudoxia (who we know was portrayed in silver); and a baptismal font dated to those years is decorated with a golden lamb and small statues of Christ and Saint John the Baptist in silver. Such practices of relating these two symbols of richness continued unaltered over the centuries, with a particular correspondence in the European courts of the seventeenth century, where vases and objects in Porphyry and precious stones were often embellished with inserts of gold. The early sources are actually very explicit on this: Pliny refers to purple, writing: "It gives splendour to every garment; in the triumphal gown it is mixed with gold" (*Natural History*, IX, 127); while Lucretius actually proposes a stoic reading: "...Skins then, and cloth of gold and purple now / To give men's lives anxieties and wars; / And we're the worse, for in the ancient days / Cold was a cruel torture if a man / Had nothing he could wrap around himself. / But we're not hurt a bit by lack of gold / And purple and brocade; a poor man's cloak / Will keep us just as warm" (*On the Nature of Things*, V, vv. 1421-1428).

[128] According to what Codinus (tenth century) says, the quadrangular pillar in the *Philadelphion* also held a relic, in this case Christ's sponge. The custom of using Porphyry to safeguard relics was widespread in later periods too, given that G. Marangoni in 1744 wrote: "In the Basilica Diaconale de' Santi Cosma e Damiano, located in the Roman Forum, there was... an antique vase of Porphyry, not in the form of a basin, but of a chalice... full of relics of many saints" (p. 303). Porphyry was often also attributed important magical properties. This is confirmed by an anecdote related by Malalas (1831, II, p. 265), according to which, after the fire of Antioch in 37, the magician Debborius advised raising a Porphyry column at the centre of the reconstructed city containing a formula as a charm against earthquakes. In the Middle Ages it was thought that this stone also had thaumaturgical powers: the prescribed cure for the bird flu contracted by hunting falcons was a potion of Corinth sultanas and pepper ground together in a mortar strictly of Red Porphyry (DEMETRIUS, *Hieracosophium*, p. 419). Purple itself was also attributed bizarre metaphysical powers: in his book on the interpretation of dreams, the Greek writer of the second century, Artemidorus, claimed that dreaming this colour was a portent of social prestige and public honour.

[129] It seems that Flavius Rufinus (*c.* 396) also had one: "*qui nunc divitiae, quid fulvi vasta metalli / congeries, quid purpureis effulsa columnis / atria prolataeve iuvant ad sidera moles?*" (CLAUDIAN, *Against Rufinus*, II, v. 135ff.).

[130] The list of royals buried in the nine Porphyry sarcophagi that have come down to us is provided by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in his *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* (II, 42, pp. 642-649): they are Constantine the Great (324-337); Constantius (337-361); Julian the Apostate (361-363); Jovian (363-364); Valens (364-378); Theodosius I "The Great" (379-395); Arcadius (395-408); Theodosius II (408-450); and Marcian (450-457).

[131] All the citations in this passage are taken from LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA, *Antapodosis*, 1.6, 3.30 and 31. Another authoritative source is Anna Comnena, who, in her *Alexiad*, describes this room thus: "It was a certain building in the palace with a square shape from the base to the start of the roof, where it ended in a pyramid. It looked over the sea and the port... The floor and walls of this room were clad in marble. This marble was not one of the many common marbles, nor one of the rarest and most expensive, but all the same difficult to find; it was rather that which the ancient emperors had taken from Rome. This marble, to be brief, is of a uniform purple colour, scattered with marks like white sand. This room, I imagine, was given the name 'purple' by our ancestors, precisely because of this marble" (VII, 2; I, pp. 229-230).

[132] This room was also used to perpetrate a crime: Empress Irene, when she dethroned her son Constantine VI in 797, arranged for him to be viciously blinded in precisely this same room where she had given birth to him: "...*deductum in Porphyra, qua pri-*

FIG. 29. RAVENNA, NEONIAN BAPTISTERY. BIG *ROTA* (CIRCULAR SLAB) ON THE NORTHEAST WALL (SEE C128); FIG. 30. ROME, VATICAN CITY, UNDERGROUND CAPPELLA CLEMENTINA. BIG *ROTA* (CIRCULAR SLAB) FROM THE PAVEMENT OF OLD SAINT PETER'S BASILICA.

Every moment in the human life of the *autocrator* was marked by the purple-Porphyry combination in a rigid and complex etiquette from the cradle to the grave. Any object of imperial appurtenance was steeped in it, his clothes were immersed in the *sacer murex*,[133] and likewise his footwear;[134] the ink of official documents was red, as were the imperial seals and the liturgical scrolls and parchments sent to foreign princes.[135] The scenographic apparatus (*skenè*) set up around the figure of the monarch and his cult (*therapeia*) was marked by an extreme formalism and a hieratic pomposity that did not fail to arouse the disapproval of observers and attract biting criticism from intellectuals like Synesius of Cyrene, who in one of his *logoi* addressed to Arcadius (395-408) wisely railed against this custom "that makes [the emperors] prisoners besieged by themselves... who live *the life of a sea mollusc*".[136] In Byzantium purple was thus the manifestation of divine choice that was placed on the man destined to hold power, and was more or less visibly translated into an exaggerated processional ceremony, in which purple was not only propitious for the symbolic message, but itself became an enigmatic epiphany of the liturgical mystery. Absolute proof of this is given by the primary importance of the Porphyry *rotae* in this archaic rituality. Their calculated position in the royal palace and their marble colouring together metaphorically raised the *princeps* above the community. The most valid source on this subject is undoubtedly that of *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae* by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus,[137] from which it is possible to learn that these *omphalia* were placed in very close relation with all the complicated protocol of court, and particularly with the rite of the προσκύνησις. It is known that four of them were positioned in the *Consistorium* according to a studied sequential order: one in front of the doorway, a second immediately after, a third at the centre of the immense hall and the last, possibly the most important, in front of a baldachin with three Porphyry steps on which the throne stood.[138] Matching Porphyry discs were found in the *Magnaura*,[139] where

mum in lucem prodit, includunt, et circa horam nonam tanta immanitate illi oculos confundere ex matris et consiliarorum eius sententia, ut pene mortem inferrent" (THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, 1839, p. 534).

[133] Expression coined by Ammianus Marcellinus (*Roman History*, 22, 9, 10-11).

[134] The symbolic value of purple was so rooted in Byzantine culture that the sign of a military rebellion against the emperor was the wearing of purple boots, *kokkobaphè pedila*, by the pretender to the throne. Such was the case on the occasion of the schism of 1054, with the exhibition of the pope's purple footwear; and also on the occasion of the crusade of 1202, when the Venetian podestà in Constantinople *stivalum unum rubeum incepit genere cum honore*, as *dominus quarte parti set dimidie totius imperii Romanie* (see CARILE 1965-1966, pp. 167-179).

[135] To understand the vital importance purple had among that population, it may be useful to read about an odd episode of which Bishop Liutprand was the unwilling victim. He himself tells that, having bought some purple garments to take back to Italy, they were brusquely requisitioned despite his repeated protests: "...They took away five very precious purples, claiming that we and all the Italics, Saxons, Franks, Bavarians, Swabians, indeed, all nations, were unworthy of being adorned in clothes of that kind. How unbecoming and offensive it be that soft, effeminate men, with long sleeves, tiara and women's clothes, deceitful, of no sex, idlers, go dressed in purple, and not rather the heroes, that is, strong men, experts at war, full of faith and charity, submissive to God, full of virtue! What is this if not an insulting offence?"; and worse still, adds the bishop of Cremona scornfully, in the western world those same garments are worn by foul prostitutes and loquacious magicians (in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*, III, Hanover, 1838, p. 359). It may be recalled that the production and sale of purple were directly controlled by the imperial authorities, as is referred to by the Justinian Code (sixth century), and the *Libro dell'Eparco* (912) where a law is quoted by which anyone having purple cloth without a licence would have their hands cut off.

[136] Here Synesius mentions a platonic citation in *Philebus*, 21c, to openly allude to the murex, and by metonymy to the purple in which the sovereign is always cloaked in every circumstance of his day. See SYNESIUS OF CYRENE 1989, p. 410, n. 7, 8, 14, 17-18.

[137] CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITUS, *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, I, p. 63, 12. On the purple *rotae* we suggest reading TREITINGER 1956 (1938), pp. 58-62.

[138] It, too, was probably in Porphyry, as was that of Majoran, described thus by Sidonius Apollinaris: "...The throne is made of stones that fall / when cut from the fiery mountain / of the Ethiopians, where beneath the nearby sun / the native heat / tincts the rocks a deep purple" ("Carmen 5", vv. 33-36).

the "throne of Solomon" was kept and on which the emperor did penance on the first Monday of fasting, and at the entrance to the Chalke.[140] This latter unlike the others had a specific ritual function, which was not only that of accommodating the sovereign in the act of prayer,[141] but also of receiving his body wrapped in a purple shroud prior to it being conducted in triumphal procession to the church of the Holy Apostles; there, the crown was replaced by a purple band and the body lowered into the purple sarcophagus.[142]

Even in some later buildings the *rotae* were used to mark the progress of the most formal political and diplomatic procedures. They appeared in Justinian II's triclinium in an identical arrangement to that of the *Consistorium*,[143] and in Justin II's *Chrysotriclinos*,[144] where it seems that on certain occasions the *papias* would take the emperor's place in distributing gratuities to the worthies in court.[145]

As an effect of the politicisation of Christianity and the priority participation of the *basileus* in the religious function, some particular aspects of the court ritual broke imperiously into the equally solemn sphere of the ecclesiastical liturgy, exercising a considerable influence on the architecture and the related decorative apparatus. In accordance with the new conception of the emperor as an entity of divine origin, the *omphalia* made their entrance into the churches too, intended to create a precise physical place on which to perform the sacramental rite of the coronation of that *basileus* whom God himself had chosen as his vicar on earth.[146] This kind of paving insert was consequently also adopted fairly systematically in numerous buildings of Christian worship far from the capital. Big *rotae* started appearing in Sant'Apollinare in Classe (fig. 29),[147] in Santa Croce at Ravenna,[148] and especially in the old basilica of Saint Peter's, where throughout the Middle Ages every western sovereign claimed the legitimacy of the ancient Roman *dignitas* (fig. 30).[149]

But it was mainly in the Christian temples of Constantinople that Porphyry, now the stone of the divine, was appointed to mould the mystical space of worship, giving a *sacra purpura* tint to the architectural structures and the liturgical objects of the new *Ecclesia* of the East, which on the Bosporus was already preparing to inherit the original decor of the early Roman cathedrals, along with polychrome marble.

The *lapis porphyreticus* that embellished Hagia Sophia and the church of the Holy Apostles also shone brightly with floral shades from the pages of Procopius:

> Who can list the beauties of the columns and stones that adorn the temple? Anyone entering has the impression of finding themselves in a meadow in full bloom. Indeed, one cannot but be astounded before the *purple of certain stones*, the green of others, and those that blossom with purple lights or sparkle with white;[150]

in the colourist notations of Paul the Silentiary's hexameters:

> ...The purple stone
> that burdened the rafts of the wide
> Nile in great abundance are here raised and shine
> all sprinkled with tiny stars;

and even in the more modest iambic trimeters of Constantine of Rhodes:

> ...The Egypt Nile that nourishes the sea
> sent dazzling slabs of purple...[151]

[139] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, I, p. 155, 5.

[140] Referring to the coronation of Maurizio (582-602) actually inside the Chalke, Theophanes writes: "*...mox vero comprehensum a iudicii ministri ad prophyreticum umbilicum ibidem positum statisse*" (*Chronographia*, II, p. 285).

[141] Cedrenus 1839, II, p. 138, 83.

[142] "*Nec non et meritum ei aptatum est sepulchrum purpurei coloris, certe qua ferventissima devotione, atque ea fide, quae per dilectionem operatur, illi adhaeserat, qui stola purpurea indutus apparuit in carne, et moriens in cruce pro nobis precium redemptionis nostrae sanguinem suum fundit*" (Almannus Altivillerensis, "Vita seu potius homilia de Sancta Helena", 1737).

[143] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, I, p. 87, 1; II, p. 524, 2.

[144] Ibid., I, p. 114, 18; I, p. 290, 15.

[145] It seems that the *Tribunal* and the building housing the senate also contained some architectural elements in Porphyry (see "*Regio secunda...continet in se...senatum, tribunal purpureis gradibus exstructum...*", Seeck 1962, pp. 229-231).

[146] The ceremonial immersion that the sovereign made in the Blacherne pool was of great theatrical impact. On Good Friday he would immerse himself in the symbolic uterus of the Mother of God, renewing the rite of death and the regeneration of the imperial divinity (Ibid., II, 12).

[147] See Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 113, p. 352, 22.

[148] It seems that Galla Placidia spent several nights in prayer on these *rotae*: "*et dicunt quidam, quod ipsa Galla Placidia augusta super quatuor rotas rubeas marmoreas quae sunt ante nominatas regias, iubebat ponere cereostatos cum manualia ad mensuram, et iactabat se noctu in medio pavimento, Deo fundere prece set tamdiu pernoctabat in lacrimis orans, quamdu ipsa lumina perdurabant*" (Ibid., ch. 41, p. 306, 26).

[149] Here there was a first *rota* outside the doorway, surrounded by four smaller ones arranged to form a cross; there was then another behind the doorway on which the seats for the emperor and the pope were placed during the *scrutinium*; finally, the last one was placed behind the main altar where the last part of the coronation took place. "*Deinde ad lapides purpureos qui in medio pavimento iacent et in modum crucis positi sunt*" (De Rossi 1864, p. 140, 17). "*Pavimentum totum ex fragmentis marmorum... Ante altare SS-mi Sacramenti rota porphyretica magna et pulcherrima integra praeterquam in ora parum facta; in antiquis Caeraemoniarum libris ad ea nominata dum agitur de coronatione imperatoris*" (Grimaldi 1972, f. 107). The big *rota* was covered over in 1612 by the paving of the new nave by Maderno, which was then replaced in its current position only with the works commissioned by Innocent X for the jubilee of 1650 and carried out by Gian Lorenzo Bernini.

[150] Procopius, *On Buildings*, B 179, 59ff. in *Procopii Caesariensis Opera omnia*.

[151] These lines from the *Ekphrasis* are repeated by Gnoli 1971, pp. 49-50.

It no longer came from the Thebaid quarries, though, where works had been gradually diminishing, but from that immense open-air deposit that was Rome, which Constantine had already voraciously (*paene omnium urbium nuditate*)[152] arranged to draw on when "to yield to the pastor he made himself Greek".[153] Porphyry in Byzantium was no longer identified as the *stone of Egypt*[154] and, precisely because of its provenance, began to be known as λίθος Ῥωμαῖος (Roman stone), because it was from there that "*the ancient emperors had taken it*".[155] It was from Rome that a certain Marcia sent eight *romanae* columns as a gift to Justinian II to adorn the temple of Hagia Sophia; from there that the pieces necessary to sculpt the royal statues arrived (including the portrait of Justinian II called *Rhinotmetus*, fig. 31),[156] along with the baptismal fonts and fountains in the atrium of the New Church of Basil I, and those in the rooms of the *Chrysotriclinos* and the *Bukolon*.

The Porphyry fashion had penetrated so deeply into Byzantine culture that from the fourth to fifth century this and other customs of the imperial court began to cross the eastern border of the kingdom and also take root in other cultures. This is confirmed not only by the finding of a porphyritic sarcophagus dating from the first half of the fifth century among the ruins of Tigranocerta in Armenia, but explicit mention is also made of it in the Latin version of the *Passion of Saint Thomas*. It speaks of a ceremony in Roman style conducted by the Indian King Gundaphorus on the occasion of the funeral of his brother Gad, whose coffin was first wrapped in purple and byssus, then temporarily placed on a Porphyry slab and finally in a sarcophagus of the same marble.[157]

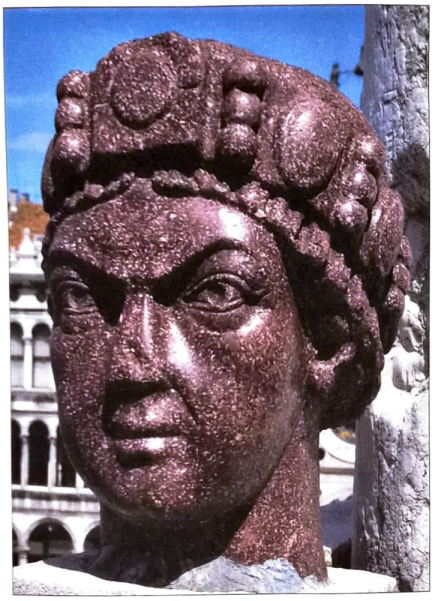


FIG. 31. VENICE, SAN MARCO, BALCONY. HEAD OF JUSTINIAN II *RHINOTMETOS*, THE SLIT-NOSED (SEE H44).

THE CHRISTIANISATION OF THE *PURPUREUS DECOR*

The sharp acceleration in the ideological development of the colour purple made by the imperial culture in the late-ancient era set off a new process that transformed the semantic spectrum of this symbol. Purple was definitively stripped of its symbolic opulence in Byzantium and given rather a more propitious sacred connotation of autocratic power; while the Christian community, now freed from its catacomb concealment, had for some time been able to notice the close connection between the definition of a solid civic and political role, and the assumption of a recognisable and authoritative symbolic endowment.

Rhetoric and art competed to transcribe the poignant images of Constantine who, weeping with emotion, was dressed in purple by the soldiers who acclaimed him emperor, or of Leo I who, protected by a wall of shields, received the purple and the diadem while offering himself to the *proskynesis* of senators. Christianity, on its part, could not evade the rules of historical discourse and remain insensitive to evocative forms of such visual impact. Despite this, the move made by the Christians was not done in terms of passiveness or slavish emulation, but was animated rather by a profoundly contradictory approach, due to the need to weigh up the rationale of an ancient moralism and the needs of a pagan legacy to be reshaped. Unlike the other ancient religions, whose exponents distinguished themselves by the particular garments they wore, in the Christian sphere there initially seems to have been no difference between the clothes worn ordinarily in civilian life and those used for liturgical office. It was only with the move made by Constantine, and the consequent freeing of worship, that the gradual formation of an increasingly structured clergy aware of its own dignity and superiority was translated into renunciation of the original simplicity, also on the level of dress. An established custom of traditional dress was thus abandoned, and the way opened up for a ceremonial and liturgical use of purple, that in both its textile and merely stone form gradually also came to be a connotational and honorific element of the ecclesiastical authority itself.

The ancient chromatic symbolism that the "gentiles" had for centuries used to indicate the prerogatives of power and command were thus grafted onto the language of the new faith. This was not, however, a legacy without trauma; indeed, faced with repeated attempts to justify this transposition, shielding it from accusations of possible idolatry, the ranks of Christian moralists ready to renew the age-old controversy against luxury began to swell. In the eyes of the believer, purple was assimilated to offensive luxury and the corruption of certain pagan customs: the garment worn by the rich glutton in the Gospels was purple, and

[152] It was Constantine himself who completed, and dedicated to the goddess Roma, the small temple that Maxentius had built for his son Romulus in 307, adorning it with Porphyry columns.

[153] DANTE ALIGHIERI, *The Divine Comedy*, "Paradise", XX, v. 57.

[154] CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITUS, *In Basilium Macedonem* (Theofanes Continuatus V), Bonn, p. 327.

[155] Citation taken from ANNA COMNENA, *The Alexiad*, see note 131.

[156] Known as the "Carmagnola" of Saint Mark.

[157] *Passio S. Thomae Apostoli*, Bonnet (ed.), Leipzig, 1903, p. 141.

the *meretrix* in Revelations also showed herself *circumdata purpura* (17:4).[158] In the wake of a formerly pagan dichotomy, the apologists' censure did nothing but point out a fully inherited contradiction: alongside Minucius Felix, who asked what sense there could be *fulgere purpura, mente sordescere*,[159] Clement of Alexandria preferred to make his the evangelical reprimand and turn his own reproof against the danger of female seduction, of which purple was clearly a propitious instrument:

> It does not conform to the will of God that the beauty of the body be a snare to trap men, nor does it conform to reason that a woman use a large veil of purple to attract the eyes of all. If only it were possible to remove the purple from that garment so as not to attract the spectators to the face of those who wore it! Those women who, carefully preparing the rest of their clothing, have made it all purple, trying to arouse easy emotions, breathless around the soft and senseless purple, according to the poet [HOMER, *The Iliad*, 5, 83; 16, 334; 20, 477] [will be taken by] the red death.[160]

Tertullian's criticism was even more subtle and, appealing to a rhetorical virtuosity, invited believers to be wary of dyes, guilty of altering the authentic colours of nature created by God,[161] by which he thought it useful to be inspired to give form to one's own interior beauty:

> Show yourselves adorned in the ointments and ornaments of the prophets and apostles, drawing your pallor from simplicity, your blush from modesty, your eyes painted with shyness and your mouth with silence... Dress yourselves in the silk of honesty, the byssus of sanctity. The purple of prudence. Decorated like this you will have God as your lover.[162]

But against this moralising current represented by the Carthaginian orator, forces were mounted to rehabilitate the purple symbology, not only for baptisms, as in the case of Gregory Nyssen or Chromatius of Aquilea,[163] but especially for making a more appealing Christological reading. The theme of the blood shed by Christ on the Cross, as a sign of the new alliance with God, is not relegated only to the confines of a Eucharistic sacramentality (Mathew, 26:28), but was conceptually expressed in all its exegetical variants: from the blood with which Moses sprinkled the book of laws and the people of Israel,[164] to the "purple of the flesh" that according to John Damascene (or John of Damascus) was put on by the Lord of Glory to live among men, prisoners of sin, and announce their liberation;[165] through to the extensive interpretation of the sacrifice of martyrs, as in the case of the Four Crowned Martyrs, who in shedding their blood (*purpuratus*) for the triumph of the Cross, ended up sanctifying it, by which they also became *Purpurei*.[166]

The expiatory symbolism of the Cross does not, however, exhaust the reading of purple in a Christological perspective, it being further enriched by the parallelism of the colour of the tunic that the *Rex Iudeorum* was made to wear, along with the crown of thorns, to mock his regality. Indeed, it was thanks precisely to this specific figuration that the highly distinctive value of purple – as a sign of authority – stopped being perceived as pertinent only to pagan culture, and was instead grafted onto Christian tradition, passing gradually from effigy of the sacrifice at Golgotha to symbol of the glory of Christ triumphant.

This is precisely the path that leads to the sacralisation of the colour purple, in whose ideological dominion in the post-Constantinian age the symbolic strata under the figures of Christ and the emperor intersect: on the one hand purple ascends to a Christometric notion and confers sacrality on the monarch, in being a reflection of the crucifixion, while on the other, being a very ancient sign of regality, worn by Christ it becomes the absolute emblem of his triumphant arrival.[167] So there is a double osmosis of semantic values, from the sovereign to the Saviour (regality), and vice versa (sacrality): such that the insult made in unworthily assuming the body of Christ is equated with desecration of the imperial purple:

> ...You have instead killed Christ himself and are responsible for his death, given that you unworthily share in his immaculate body and blood. He who eats and drinks unworthily is guilty of the body and the blood of Christ and eats and drinks his own condemnation... And it is perfectly logical: indeed, he who tears the imperial purple and he who defiles it, both suffer the same penalty of

[158] In the prophetic Lamentations of Jeremiah it can also be read: "They that were brought up in scarlet embrace dunghills" (4:5).

[159] MINUCIUS FELIX, *Octavius*, 37, 10; on the disdain for purple see also IBID., 8, 4: "*honores et purpuras despiciunt, ipsi seminudi*".

[160] CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Protrepticus*, 2, 10, 2.

[161] TERTULLIAN, *On the Apparel of Women*, 1, 8, 2. Tertullian's judgement on the aesthetic and ideological value of purple is actually as contradictory and uncertain as it had been for the gentiles, especially that fringe of moralist thinkers who violently opposed its use and display. To fully understand the terms of this clash of thinking see the passage from *On Idolatry* quoted in this book in Appendix I.

[162] TERTULLIAN, *On the Apparel of Women*, 2, 13, 7. Cyprian also spoke on the same subject, *De habitu virginum*, 14.

[163] Chromatius of Aquilea, in particular, recalls how purple, a product of nature, in itself lacking in value, is transformed into a precious object when immersed in the water that changes it, both in appearance and value; just as occurs with man at the moment of baptism: "If we want to be likened to the valuable purple, we must conserve the grace of our transformation in order to be found worthy of such a great king" (JOHN DAMASCENE, *Homiliae*, 19, 2 [MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, 96, 668 A]).

[164] "For when Moses had spoken every precept to all the people according to the law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with water, and scarlet wool, and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book, and all the people, Saying This is the blood of the testament which God hath enjoined unto you" (Epistle to the Hebrews, 9, 19:20).

[165] JOHN DAMASCENE, *Homiliae*, 6, 4 (MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, 96, 668 A).

[166] See PRUDENTIUS, *Peristephanon*, 5, 339; 8, 3; 4, 192; but also AUGUSTINE, *Sermones*, 300, 2. It is a form of symbolic recognition of the sacrifice made also by the confessors *damnati ad metalla* on Mons Porphyrites forced to quarry the purple red stone. See the essays in this book on the Four Crowned Martyrs and on the *Passio* by Porphyrius.

[167] In the art of Byzantine icons, at times it was preferred to actually depict Christ robed in purple, as king of kings.

> death. So that, therefore, both they who tear his body and they who now defile it, receiving it in an impure spirit, will be subject to the same condemnation as those who crucified him, according to the words of the Apostle.[168]

In its function as a distinctive sign of authority, it is converted into an emblematic instrument of redemption, to portray an accomplished supremacy of the Christian faith over an ancient idolatry that has now bowed its head:[169]

> The gentiles also suffer solitude in the cities. The gods of the nations are already with their owls on their roofs. The soldiers' ensigns are the standards of the Cross. The effigy of the salutary scaffold adorns the *regali porpore*, and the inflamed jewels of the crown. By now the Egyptian Serapis is made Christian. Morna of Gaza, confined, cries and constantly fears the ruin of the temple. Every day we receive ranks of monks from India, Persia and Ethiopia...[170]

To appreciate how profound the change in perspective made by Constantine's move was in the collective imagination of the believers, and what level of penetration the renewed symbolic grammar made in the traditional field of art[171] and religious architecture, it is sufficient to observe the frequency with which Porphyry was used to transpose in material and decorative terms that regal transcendence to which only the colour purple could correspond.

The objects needed for the new liturgy and those requested by the complex ceremonials of a state religion were carved from the hard igneous marble: purple had to be the colour of the baptism fonts, where the creature of God was reborn in the clemency of a Porphyry embrace; of the parchments from which the word of God thundered vigorous and comforting; even of the cups used for the functions, which a mystic medieval suggestion sought to identify as those used for the marriage at Cana.[172] The most notable Porphyry vases thought to have been used at that famous marriage are those still found in the lower basilica at Assisi (fig. 32), in Pisa cathedral (fig. 36), at Santa Maria del Porto in Ravenna (fig. 37) and Amalfi cathedral (fig. 33), but also at Topkapi in Istanbul (figs. 34-35) and in the treasury at Angers cathedral.

But the solemn, centuries-old legacy of the rite demanded its tribute of purple symbols able to reproduce the aura of ancient *pompae* in the Christian temples too, as had been the case with the imperial palaces, responding with visual power to the meaning and dignity of the action: for the public *ostensio* the sacred codices were tinted purple, and *rotae* of Red Porphyry were arranged along the processional way, on which the monarch (*defensor christianorum*) would receive the grace of divine investiture, and at the moment of his death the last salute from his people. And while the ceilings of the churches were held up by Porphyry columns to glorify their magnificence, and steps of the same marble raised the altars where the priest officiated at the Eucharistic mystery, *lapides porphyretici* on the floors of mixed stone indicated to the faithful the graves of devoted bishops,[173] or the last home of popular saints, to whose burgeoning worship the sacred Porphyry rock had lent its transcendental charm.[174]

Even the accoutrements for the relics, in whose evocative power an entire community entrusted its collective identity, were enriched with objects in Porphyry: from the column of Christ's martyrdom, held in the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,[175] to the slab that received his body, which Niketas Choniates placed near the tomb of Manuel Comneno in Constantinople;[176] from the column on which the evangelical cock intoned its triple crow,[177] to the *omphalion* in the church of Hagia Sophia, on which, according to legend, Mary kneeled one night during an apparition.

[168] *Apophthegmata Patrum*, no. 601 ("of Macarius") (MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, 34, 208C-209B).

[169] Exemplary in this is the celebrated confrontation, recounted by Sozomenus (*Ecclesiastical History*, 7, 25) between Theodosius and Ambrose, in which the Roman emperor, clothed in his purple insignia, was forced to remove them as a sign of humiliation and repentance.

[170] AMBROSE, *Letters / Epistolae*, VII ("to Leta").

[171] It is interesting to recall what has been written by the scholar M. Luisa Lucci about the slabs of Porphyry that decorated the background of the eight circular marble reliefs in the arch of Constantine: "The tondi around the haloed head of the emperor are in this case the visible effusion of his glory and virtue, making a kind of parallel to the nimbus that surrounds the head of God and the saints in Christian figurative art" (LUCCI 1964, fasc. 2, p. 261).

[172] The great devotion that these objects aroused in believers can clearly be referred to the cult of relics that was particularly intense especially in the centuries of the Middle Ages. There are numerous cups that, according to belief, hosted the miraculous transformation of water into wine performed by Christ (up to thirty-seven of them can be counted, and many are in Porphyry, as if the colour of this marble, evoking both blood and wine, was more suited to accomplishing the miraculous transformation), and are now found scattered around churches all over Europe. There are others in addition to those mentioned in the text: the one held in Brindisi cathedral; the one said to have been offered to the Pisan people by Archbishop Dalberto on his return from the first crusade in 1099; the Hildesheim cup given by Otto III to his tutor Bernard in around 1002. There is then the alabaster vase in the museum of the Abbey of San Colombano, and two vases also in alabaster for weddings from the Sanctuary of Casaluce near Capua, that of Santa Maria de Cambre and the one in the Archaelogical Museum of Torcello. But perhaps the most well known is the situla of Angers, which, provided with a gilt mounting, was given by René of Anjou to the convent of Saint Paul in Marseilles; here it is at the centre of the liturgy of the "feast of the Hydrie" celebrated on the second Sunday after Epiphany (the anniversary of the marriage at Cana). In a ceremony that clearly evokes the evangelical episode, the vase is filled with blessed wine and taken in procession to the cloister by brothers crowned in rosemary, as was the Palestinian wedding custom.

[173] AGNELLUS OF RAVENNA, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 23. p. 289, 16: ("Ursus 370-396)...*sepultusque est, ut asserunt quidam, in iam dicta ecclesia Ursiana...ante altare subtus pirfirethicum lapidem, ubi pontifex stat, quando missam canit*"; ch. 29, p. 293, 35: "(Neon 450-475) ...*sepultus olim in basilica Apostolorum ante altare beati apostoli Petri subtus pirfireticum lapidem...*".

[174] In PAULINUS OF NOLA, *Letters* (I, ch. 32, 17, p. 292), in reference to the Basilica of Fondi one reads: "*Ecce sub accensis altaribus ossa piorum/ regia purpureo marmore crusta tegit*". Numerous items in Porphyry were in the sanctuaries dedicated to the cult of martyrs and the Virgin: such as the columns of the Confessione di S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, or the decorations in Sant'Agnese, San Giovanni in Laterano and San Paolo *extra muros*; or in a more obvious way in Santa Prassede, where it is said that under a Porphyry wheel the bodies and blood of the believers martyred on the nearby Esquiline were collected. The mortal remains of these saints were often also kept in antique Porphyry vessels (for example, Saint Bartholomew, the Four Crowned Martyrs, Saints Processus and Martinian, or Saint Sernin, to name but a few).

[175] BUONDELMONTI, *Florentini Liber insularum archipelagi*, p. 179: "*In ecclesia vero Sanctorum Apostolorum...et ibi columna ubi Christus ligatus et flagellates est. in monasterio Pantocratoris est lapis ubi Joseph revolvit Christum in syndone*". A fragment of this column is now in Saint Mark's basilica, Venice (see entry C53).

[176] NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Historiae*, p. 289, 15.

[177] See BAGLIONE 1990, pp. 129-130.

Fig. 32. Assisi, San Francesco, Lower Basilica. Volute krater believed to be one of the "Marriage of Cana" (see V151).

Fig. 33. Amalfi, Cathedral, first chapel on the left. Volute krater believed to be one of the "Marriage of Cana" (see V14).

Fig. 34. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Vase - baptismal font (see V17).

Fig. 35. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum. Baptismal font (see V16).

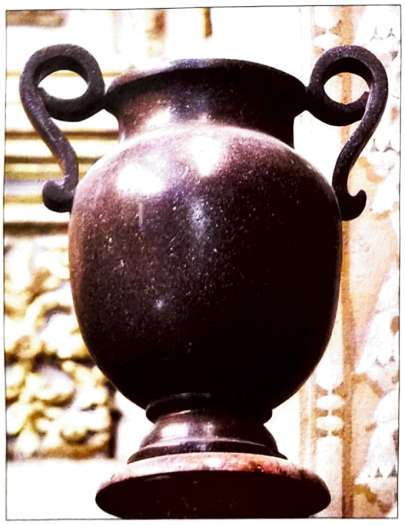


Fig. 36. Pisa, Cathedral, lower south side of the presbytery. Amphora with volutes believed to be one of the "Marriage of Cana" (see V12).

Fig. 37. Ravenna, Church of Santa Maria in Porto. Vase believed to be one of the "Marriage of Cana" (see V13).

This stage in the process of acquiring the pagan iconographic elements actually took place gradually, involving all the different spheres of Christian religiosity, and emerged as a kind of multiform transfer of a secular political rhetoric in confessional terms. So we ought not to be deceived by the criticism that Prudentius still reserved for this marble in the fifth century,[178] nor by the sorrow with which Sidonius was genuinely afflicted at not being able to use it in the furnishing of his bathroom;[179] nor, on the other hand, does it seem unusual that eminent pontiffs of refined tastes should try to win the coveted recognition of their authority by raking up the ancient remains of the royal insignia from the riches of Rome.[180] Porphyry, with all its symbolic charge, had fully entered into the Christian figurative tradition being formed, and already presented itself to the austere and mystic Middle Ages with the saving message entrusted it by the sacrifice of the Son of God.

FIG. 38. RAVENNA, MAUSOLEUM OF THEODORIC, UPPER FLOOR. BATH TUB FROM ROME (SEE L20).

THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

It is well known that an empire does not fall suddenly, or its glory immediately fade, but that one form of power replaces another and, despite a radical upheaval of balances, always ends up more or less consciously inheriting some features of the old regime. It charges these with making legitimate recognition of its own sovereignty, or sometimes even a transfer, by reflection, of absolute authority to its own political action.

This is what also happened to Rome on the eve of its decline, when two other forces wished to substantiate their rule by drawing nourishment from its *desiecta membra* and validating the chances of fate with those same *insigna potestatis* that had guaranteed the greatness of the empire that now lay defeated. When speaking of the end of the Roman Empire one should always remember to add "of the West" and if anything use "decline" or "transformation" rather than "fall".

After the sack by Alaric (410) the imperial authority, too far from the ancient capital, had already given proof of its inability to face up to the prerogatives of government and defence of the city. This provided the Church, now at peace with a certain pagan legacy, the right occasion to present itself, if not *de iure* certainly *de facto*, as the only power able to not only protect the physical safety of the Roman people, but above all to safeguard the wealth of classical tradition. And while the city of Caesar rapidly started becoming the city of Peter, this Christian rebirth increasingly took on the aspect of an architectural and artistic renewal, to which the task of recovering the glorious inheritance of the past was entrusted and, through the reformulation of its *congregatae spoliae*, of obtaining the legitimisation (*sanctio*) of its own political and cultural status.

In a scenario marked by strong rivalries between the participants in the division of an immense bequest, taking to oneself the authority of the previous *dominium* meant also wholly accepting its distinctive emblems. So, alongside the definitive assumption of purple as the exclusive sign of the vestments to be used by the ecclesiastical hierarchies, there was also an elaborate reuse of antique Porphyry in the decoration of new churches, built for the worship of the relics of martyrs that was attracting a growing number of devotees. Under the considerable impulse given to this extraordinary ideological redemption by popes like Sixtus III (432-440) and Hilarius (461-468), purple columns were positioned as regal decoration in baptisteries and *confessions*; ancient thermal basins, by a curious revival, became baptismal fonts; and Porphyry disks, often obtained from neglected drums, marked the place of the coronation of kings[181] and popes, or conserved under their sacred weight the remains of blessed examples of faith.

The conquering Barbarian people got ready to contract with Rome the same debt it had once assumed with Etruria in the time of the Tarquins, acquiring from them the insignia of power. So the Goth Theodoric, after his "*infantiam purpuratam*" as hostage at the court of Constantinople, never ceased recalling his *genus purpuratum*, nor the concession of those *ornamenta palatii*, that had rather been irrevocably denied to Odoacer.[182] He also loved to define himself as *amator fabricarum et restaurator civitatum* and to make his intentions tangible charged his chancellor Cassiodorus with providing for the protection and maintenance of Rome's architectural and artistic wealth (*curator palatii*); but then he, too, ended up giving in to the vice of expropriation, and had him-

[178] "*...nativum nemo scopuli mihi dedicet ostrum,/ templum mentis amo, non marmoris*" (PRUDENTIUS CLEMENTE, *Contra Symmachum*, II, v. 248).

[179] "*...sam si marmora inquiras, non illic quidem Paros Carystos Proconnesos, Phryges Numidae Spartiatae rupium variata rum posuere crustas; neque per scopulo Aethiopicos et abrupta purpurea genuino fucata conchylio sparsum mihi saxa furfurem mentiuntur*" (SIDONIUS, *Epistolae*, 2, 7ff.).

[180] The passion for these items shown by popes like Sixtus III (432-440) was notorious. He wanted to enrich with Porphyry columns not only the baptistery of San Giovanni in Laterano, but also the "*confessionem beati Laurenti Martyris*" (*Le Liber pontificalis*, Duchesne [ed.], p. 233, 19); Pope Hilarius (461-468) was the same, surrounding himself with antique fountains and baths: "*fecit nympheum et triporticum ante oratorium sanctae Crucis, ubi sunt columnae mirae magnitudinis quae dicuntur exatonpentaicas (thebaicas), et concas striatas duas cum columnas porphyreticas raiatas aqua fundentes; et in medio lacum purphyreticum cum conca raiata in medio aqua fundentem, circumdatam a dextris vel sinistris in medio cancellis aereis et columnis cum fastigiis et epistuliis, undique ornatum ex musibo et columnis aquitanicis et tripolitis et purphyreticis*" (IBID., 242, 20 vgl. 246, 5). Regarding this subject, see also ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de mirabilibus Romae*, pp. 54, 62, 84f.

[181] This element became so essential in the coronation ceremony that when Clement VII was forced to crown Charles V in the church of San Petronio in Bologna in February 1530, not being able to do so in Rome, he had the big wheel copied onto the floor so that the rite would conform to the centuries-old practice.

[182] "*...nomen regis Odovacar adsumpsit, cum tamen nec purpura nec regalibus uteretur insignibus*" (CASSIODORUS, *Chronicon*, 1303).

self interred in an ancient Porphyry vessel around which he imagined the celebrated mausoleum of Ravenna (fig. 38).[183] Rich in privileges over the *patrimonium Petri* guaranteed by the Constantinian "endowment", and reinforced by the continuous crisis of power involving the other actors, the influence of the Church on the European political chessboard continued to change rapidly. Furthermore, following the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem (640) and the exacerbation of its clash with Byzantium's iconoclastic choices, Christian Rome not only presented itself as being the spiritual capital for all the faithful, but also went back to being the political and cultural hub of the entire West. The new recompositions of a power always avid for the legitimisation that only a studied *imitatio imperii* could give pivoted around its recognised secular authority as *domina gentium*; while hordes of refugees from the Byzantine provinces appealed to its fame as *communis patria*, often bringing with them technical skills and knowledge of stylistic forms, ready to merge these with the local tradition.

But history had directed that there should be another Barbarian sovereign to run to the aid of the Church, and, presenting himself in the guise of the real heir to Constantine, defend it against the "Lombard tooth"[184] in exchange for an incalculable tribute to his ambitious project for *renovatio*. Crowned emperor on the *rota* of Saint Peter's[185] on Christmas night 800, by that same Leo III (795-816) whose ideological appropriation of various antique materials had become the distinctive mark of his papacy,[186] Charlemagne immediately understood the urgency of endowing his preferred home of Aquisgrana with the *Romae veterem decorem* that would definitively consecrate him in the pantheon of the Caesars. So with lively enthusiasm he began transporting numerous stripped marbles from Italy, showing his preference among these for Porphyry, which the Roman emperors had seen as the material symbol of their sovereignty and was now so propitious to conferring metaphorical significance on the desired *traslatio*:[187]

> Aquisgrana and Rome now both have a "Lateran", but the one to the north of the Alps is like an empty box, a name that declares projects or presumptions and needs columns to legitimise it with tangible handholds. The city on the Tiber, on the contrary, is too full of memories. It withstands, unmindful and patient, numerous predators who with respect, admiration and devotion go around in its ruins *spoliarum cupidi*. This shattered Rome travels, by wagons and by sea; multiplying its image.[188]

But the *romanitas* of those rare stones snatched by the licence of popes, or the *aedificiorum aequalitas* to which they were delivered were not enough to fill the immense gap that separated the new monarchs of Europe from the classical culture of which they declared themselves the legitimate heirs; nor were the brilliance of Alcuin or the doctrines of Gerbert of Aurillac sufficient to turn back the course of a destiny of splendour and glory now consigned to the past.

The efforts to assimilate the old insignia of power through an uncritical transfer of precious *spolia*, to which Charlemagne's successors gave themselves up, spurred on more by a superficial admiration than a planned ideology, were of little value in the common project of constructing a monarchical theocracy. Lothair wanted a slab of Porphyry taken from the cathedral of Ravenna to be placed on the altar of the church of Saint-Médard in Soissons, where he had had the body of Saint Sebastian laid;[189] and Otto I was even worse: contemptuous of the beauty of the Roman remains, he gave orders not only to transfer a great quantity of architectural pieces in Porphyry to the cathedral of Magdeburg (fig. 39),[190] but also to use the same material to make the cover for his sepulchre. So it should be no surprise that his son (Otto II) was also seduced by the regal charm of purple, and did not restrict himself to tinting the documents of his marriage to the Byzantine princess Theophanu with murex,[191] but even used the

[183] "*...sed ut mihi videtur esse (Theodericus) sepulcro proiectus est, et ipsa urna, ubi iacuit, ex lapide pirfiretico valde mirabilis, ante ipsius monasterii (S. Mariae) aditum posita est*" (AGNELLUS OF RAVENNA, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 39, p. 304, 15).

[184] "And when the Lombard tooth bites / the Holy Church, under its wings / Charlemagne, winning, offers respite" (DANTE ALIGHIERI, *The Divine Comedy*, "Paradise", VI, vv. 94-96).

[185] That same porphyritic disc was where both Henry V and Frederick Barbarossa were crowned. The former in 1098: "(king and pope) *post ingressum basilicae, cum in rotam porfireticam pervenissent, positis utrimque sedibus, consederunt*" (*Le Liber pontificalis*, Duchesne [ed.], [Leo III], II, 340); the latter in 1155: "*Relicto autem ibidem* (in the vestibule) *rege, Pontifex ad beati Petri altare conscendit. Cuius vestigia rex cum processione subsequens, ante portas argenteas orationem priamam ab uno episcoporum nostrorum suscepit, et secundam orationem infra ecclesiam in rota super eundem regem alius ex episcopis nostris dedit, orationem vero tertiam et unctionem tertius episcopus ante Confessionem beati Petri eidem regi nichilominus contulit. Missa itaque incepta et gradali post epistolam decantato, rex ad potificem coronandum accessit et presentatis imperialibus signis, gladium et sceptrum atque imperii coronam de manibus eiusdem pape suscepit*" (IBID., II, 392).

[186] It was he who endowed the triclinium in the Lateran palace and the baptistery of Saint Peter's with Porphyry columns. It is known from documents of the time that his refined taste for the insignia of power and the fervid competition with the Byzantine areas inspired him to commission the making of an elegant purple vestment on the Syrian model, with *rote* depicting the stories of the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Passion, which was then donated to the basilica of Sant'Apollinare in Classe.

[187] Charlemagne's liking for a certain imperial symbology is also confirmed by his directions that before his body was buried it should be wrapped in cloths of purple silk made especially by the *gyneciaria* of Constantinople. We also know that his passion for Porphyry was shared by all members of the Frankish royal household. It seems that many ancient sources identified a vessel now held in the Louvre as the baptismal font of Clovis I, others thought it that of Saint Hilary, stolen from Poitiers by the same Dagobert who had kept the body of the saint in it; others still thought it the sarcophagus of Charles the Bald, who died in October 877. Pepin the Short was also interested in porphyritic symbology, gratefully accepting the two columns that were given to him in 754 on the occasion of his second annointment by Pope Stephen II, who had enlarged the baldachin in Saint Peter's by endowing it with four more purple columns.

[188] SETTIS 1986, p. 422.

[189] Near the sarcophagus of Archbishop Mauro at Sant'Apollinare in Classe "*fuit lapis pirfireticus ante praedictam arcam, preciosissimus et valde lucidissimus in modum vitri. Et apertis ianuis, quae respiciunt ad ecclesiam beati Severi, intuisset quis illum lapidem, sicut in speculum tam homines quamque animalia sive volatilia vel qualiscunque res inde transissent enigma quasi in speculum videri potuisset. Sed pene annos 12, tempore Petronaci pontificis Lotharius augustus tollere iussit, et in capsam ligneam super lanam inclausit et Franciam deportavit et super altarium Sancti Sebastiani mensam ut esset, posuit. Praeceptum mihi a pontifice fuit, et ego illuc issem, ne coementarii incaute agerent, frangeretur; sed corde dolore pleno in partem aliam secessi*" (AGNELLUS OF RAVENNA, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 113, p. 352, 22).

[190] "*Preciosum quoque marmor cum auro gemmisque cesar precepit ad Magadaburg adduci. In omnibusque columnarum capitibus sanctorum reliquias diligenter includi iussit*" (THIETMAR OF MERSEBURG, Kurze [ed.], II, ch. 17, p. 28). Two of those Porphyry columns now embellish the celebrated choir in that church.

[191] The parchments drawn up on the occasion of his father's coronation had been given the same treatment.

FIG. 39. MAGDEBURG, CATHEDRAL. BAPTISMAL FONT. IT IS THE ROMAN BASE OF A LARGE *LABRUM* THAT HAS BEEN OVERTURNED AND HOLLOWED OUT TO HOLD THE BAPTISMAL WATER (SEE L63); FIG. 40. TARRAGON, MONASTERY OF SANTES CREUS. BATH FROM THE MAUSOLEUM OF CENTCELLES (SEE L5). FIG. 41. VENICE, PIAZZA SAN MARCO. STATUE OF THE TETRARCHS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE. DETAIL (SEE S50).

remains of Hadrian's immense sarcophagus still in Castel Sant'Angelo for his tomb; to which, centuries later, Carlo Fontana's imagination would give the appearance of the current baptismal font in Saint Peter's.[192]

Starting from the twelfth century the Church imperiously began again reclaiming the primacy of its power ("*quod solus* [pope] *possit uti imperialibus insigniis*"), exploiting all the symbolic charge of the structures in the *fracta Urbs* of which it had for centuries been the only custodian. This was despite the reformist efforts of the Cluniac movement, which preached a return to the poverty and Christianity of its beginnings ("*purpura transit escaque finiit; ultio restat*"; "*est rosa sanguine, purpura lumine sobrietatis*"),[193] and being caught in the grip of an exhausting struggle with the imperial authority for temporal supremacy. So the extraordinary season of decorative art known as *cosmati* began in this way on the margins of a grandiose programme of religious building. Skilled craftsmen, experts in the art of stone cutting, drew inspiration from Byzantine geometries to give rise to the new image of the City of God, by means of polychrome incrustations, discs bordered with coils and intricate mosaic geometries. The careful juxtaposition of the marble *cruste* was here not only dictated by rigid ceremonial needs, but also evoked a studied iconographic and conceptual symbolism.[194]

The fashion for Porphyry had a new period of fervid interest following the Crusades, especially the last, whose epicentre was precisely Constantinople. On that occasion the ships of the Serenissima not only came back with extremely rich booty, including the tetrarchs group (fig. 41), the head of the "Carmagnola" and other exceptional Porphyry items, but also freighted with a

[192] "*Ibidem in paradiso ante basilicam sancti Petri, introeuntibus ad partem laevam, marmoreo sepulcro conditus est (Otto II), quod adhuc extat; cuius operculum porphyreticum impositum fuerat sepulcro Hadriani imperatoris intra eius mausoleum, quod postea erutum, Innocentio II loco tumuli Laterani fuit, nunc dirutum ad portam lateris septentrionalis jacet*" (ONUPHRIUS PANVINIUS, "*De memorabilibus Ecclesiae sancti petri*", IX, book 6, ch. 9, p. 341). The remains of the emperor were then transferred in 1610 to the Vatican basements; this is also confirmed by F. DE' FICORONI, *Le vestigia e rarità di Roma antica*, of 1744, p. 193: "An oval shaped basin of beautiful Porphyry was placed over the sepulchre of Emperor Otto II, which was in the Vatican's underground church..."

[193] Both texts were taken from BERNARD OF CLUNY, *De contemptu mundi*, I, respectively pp. 680 and 319.

[194] On this subject see DEL BUFALO 2010.

[195] One thinks of the enormous round vessel in the Vatican Museums, whose complicated history is incisively summarised by F. Valesio as follows: "Julius III, having escaped the turmoils of war, gave himself up to a quiet life, and to the building of a sumptuous villa, which still retains his name, outside the Porta del Popolo, enriching it with statues and other precious remains of antiquity. On this occasion he received as a gift from Ascanio Colonna a beautiful Porphyry basin, seven ells wide; and being broken, and missing some pieces in the base, the pope wished to have it repaired. But as the art of working that very hard stone was not known then, despite the finest sculptors trying, even M. A. Buonarroti himself, nothing could be done. Nevertheless, as best as possible, it was mended and placed at the main font with statues, following the design of Ammannati. This basin, in our day taken by Clement XI from the aforementioned villa and admirably repaired with other pieces of Porphyry, the white Elba granite with which it had been mended at the time of Julius having been removed; is now in the Vatican in Belvedere; and it weighs 90 pounds" (see LANCIANI 1989, II, p. 190).

[196] P. C. Claussen wrote of him: "He brought with him merchants and workers,

visual stimulus that inevitably incited direct comparison with the splendours of the Byzantine court, which none of the western sovereigns intended eschewing. All the rulers, including the popes, were not content with having only Porphyry columns, statues and *labra* in their homes,[195] they also wanted to imitate the funeral practice of entombment in antique porphyritic vessels, begun by Maximian Hercules and Valentinian II (then followed also by Theodosius) and also used for the burial of many saints. The examples were numerous: from Richard de Ware, who had the words *HIC PORTAT LAPIDES QUOS HUC PORTAVIT A URBE* ("the stones he carried here from Rome now carry his body") written on his tomb at Westminster,[196] to Marquis Hugo of Tuscany, who boasted a family relationship with the imperial house of Saxony; there is then the vessel in the cathedral of Saint-Denis, that of Mertz, the one Francesco Sforza gave to Pandolfo Malatesta and the urn surmounted by a Gothic baldachin that James II commissioned for his father Peter I, now in the church of Santes Creus in Tarragon (fig. 40).[197]

But it was mainly among the pontiffs that this custom took root most insistently, responding to a double figurative need that, fully consistent with contemporary papal theories, on the one hand meant acquiring the imperial system of representation, and on the other implied almost a form of "sanctification" that the funerary custom once reserved for martyrs and God's elect could confer. The first was Innocent II who, dying in 1143, was buried in the vessel that had been Hadrian's,[198] then followed by Anastasius IV in 1154, who as a home for his earthly remains chose the monumental sarcophagus of Saint Helen.[199] Subsequent imitators were then Innocent V (1276), to whom Charles of Anjou sent his chamberlain in search of a *conca porfidis* that would be suitable for the purpose; to end with the urn that in 1740 received Clement XII within the walls of San Giovanni in Laterano.

Porphyry regained its early symbolic regal significance with the intensifying clash between papacy and empire at the dawn of the thirteenth century, once again acquiring its original secular and profane value. In the years when Innocent III, inventor and eager promoter of the pope's *plenitudo potestatis*, wrote "*qui induebatur purpura et bisso, sepultus est in inferno*" (*De miseria conditionis humanae*, 37), the rival Norman house of Roger II and his Hohenstaufen successors sought to emulate the illustrious Byzantine imperial tradition, copying not only their artistic styles and solemn ceremony, but also the ancient aesthetic liking for burial in Porphyry. So it should be no surprise that Count Roger himself sought to procure the necessary large column drums and the means for making Porphyry sarcophagi, which in Byzantium had no longer been available for centuries, probably employing Capitoline workshops. But these splendid tombs were fated never to contain his remains, because in 1215 Frederick II of Swabia had them moved from the cathedral of Cefalù, for which his forebear had intended them, to that of Paler-

FIG. 42. PALERMO, CATHEDRAL, SECOND CHAPEL ON THE RIGHT. SARCOPHAGUS OF FREDERICK II. THIS IS ONE OF THE SARCOPHAGI COMMISSIONED BY RUGGERO II FOR HIS OWN TOMB IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CEFALÙ (SEE L37 AND C46).

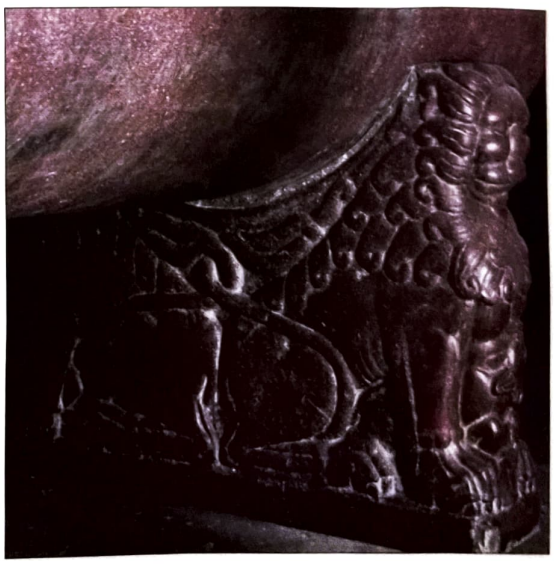


FIG. 43. PALERMO, CATHEDRAL, SECOND CHAPEL ON THE RIGHT. SARCOPHAGUS OF FREDERICK II. DETAIL (SEE L37).

who had with them porphyries and jaspers and Thassos marbles that he had bought at his own expense in Rome" (CLAUSSEN 1973, p. 83).

[197] It is known for certain that the tombs of the first Latin kings of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin, were also enriched with Porphyry inserts.

[198] "*In medio giro sepulchrum Adriani porfireticum, quod nunc est Lateranis sepulchrum papae Innocentii coopertorium est in paradiso sancti Petri super sepulcrum prefecti*" (*Mirabiliae Romae*, Ebd. 269 r., 9 in DELBRUECK 1932, p. XVII).

[199] "*In monumento vero porfiretico beate Helene sepultus est Anastasius IV papa*" (in POOLE 1915). The destiny of the remains of Saint Helen after the reuse of her sarcophagus is related by F. de' Ficoroni, who in 1744 wrote: "The oval vessel in Araceli containing the Relics of Saint Helen is in beautiful Porphyry, taken from the vast Porphyry urn, which, found in its mausoleum with the cover considerably broken, is now in the cloister of the Lateran Basilica" (see DE' FICORONI, *Le vestigia e rarità di Roma antica...*, f. 191). It seems that when Pius VI had this sarcophagus positioned, along with the other of Saint Constance, in the Vatican Museums, he arranged that it be restored and that the missing parts be added: a job that, according to what Lanciani says (1892, pp. 196f.), kept twenty-five craftsmen busy for a good nine years.

mo *pro sua et patris sepoltura*.[200] The area set aside for the Hohenstaufen burials in the cathedral[201] is marked by four baldachins (and a forest of Porphyry columns) under which the Porphyry urns carved for Cefalù are positioned. The sarcophagus of Frederick II (died 1250) was probably the one carved for his grandfather Roger II, being the richest and most beautiful (figs. 42-43). Frederick wanted the other two marvellous tombs taken from Cefalù to be used for his mother (Constance of Altavilla, died 1198) and his father (Henry VI died 1197), while poor Roger II, who conceived of and created so much porphyritic art, may be seen buried at the end of this area in a tomb consisting of twenty rectangular slabs of Red Egyptian Porphyry, recalling the humble Christian burials known as *cappuccina* made with clay tiles. The fate of the heirs to the Swabian house was so closely tied to this important stone that those who did not succumb to death in Porphyry, found it on Porphyry: as was the case with Conradin, who, after the defeat of Tagliacozzo against Anjou troops, on 29 October 1268 was granted the "macabre courtesy"[202] of being beheaded on the stub of a Porphyry column, now in the sacristy of Santa Croce in Naples.[203]

Scholars have long argued over the origin of these sarcophagi and especially their particular crafting, which clearly shows the hand of artisans who, although referring to the model of antique vessels with their pediment top,[204] made substantial decorative additions including motives of Christian or dynastic origin. The debate began with the awareness that for many years excessive credit had quite arbitrarily been given to the repeated claims in Renaissance sources - which thereby also retained a prejudicial approach to medieval experience, in their eyes essentially obscurantist - that the ancient art of working Porphyry had fallen into oblivion with the advent of the dark ages. This rumour was propagated by respected experts such as Giorgio Vasari ("*Et bene si sono in diversi tempi provati molti begli ingegni, per trovare il modo di lavorarlo, che usarono gli antichi, tutto è stato in vano*");[205] Orfeo Boselli ("*perché delle stupende opere fatte da gli Antichi in Porfido, in Pietra Egitia, Gioie durissime, noi siamo gli Heredi della Meraviglia, e non della Imitazione*");[206] Anton Francesco Doni ("*Hor giudichi ogn'homo che difficilissimi stromenti con forze grandissime et ruote per più lati, con più huomini; modi di lavorare strani, che per la loro difficultà et industria di mente sono al tutto perduti. Solo ci resta una meraviglia, come tali opere per virtù humana sieno state fatte...*");[207] and even in the imaginative words of Francesco Colonna ("*opera certissimo non exacta per forcia di scalpro overo scalpello, ma cum incognito artificio miranda expressa*").[208]

It is actually more plausible to think that the secrets of this special artistic practice were never lost, but, though long neglected, were conserved rather in that abstract osmosis of knowledge and experience facilitated by the repeated migrations and continuous contacts between East and West.[209] The Muslim conquest of Jerusalem and the iconoclastic policy of Byzantium had already, between the seventh and eighth century, caused entire families of Byzantine craftsmen to move to Italian cities. But it was mainly with the work on Montecassino that the need for *artifices peritos utique in arte musivaria et quadrataria* prompted Abbot Desiderius to put his faith in the acclaimed skill of oriental workers to make up for the lack of Latin masters:

> ...And because for five hundred years and more the western masters had lost the ability to exercise such arts and, thanks to the effort of he who by divine aid and inspiration they managed to recover it in this our time, in order that in Italy it would no longer be lost, a man endowed with all prudence ensured that a large number of young men from the monastery should be carefully trained in these same techniques.[210]

So we are inclined to think that the ability of those craftsmen who carved the Palermo sarcophagi must be entirely sought in that

[200] Frederick died in 1250, while his father Henry VI had died in 1197. Some moving lines were dedicated by the Italian poet Giovanni Pascoli to the death of the sovereign, who, because of his lay spirit, was accused of heresy (Dante placed him among the heretics) and defined "Antichrist":
Sì. Egli dorme in una Cattedrale, | entro l'eterno porfido dell'arca.
E' non sa più di stormi e cavalcate, | e' non sa più di timpani e di trombe,
nel dolce tempo quando foglia e fiora, | ch'egli tendea nei prati i padiglioni.
Non più dai geti libera l'astore, | delle canzoni perse il motto e il suono...
Dorme nell'arca rossa l'Anticristo... | Ma più non ha favella
ora, e il coperchio è sceso omai per sempre | sull'arca fiammeggiante
(PASCOLI, *Le Canzoni di re Enzo*, X, "L'Imperatore").

[201] On the burial of Henry VI, Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi (1835, ch. 7) writes: "Finally a way was found to bury Henry in a Porphyry tomb in Palermo cathedral, where he is currently awaiting God's judgement". On the death of his son, though, the source is Niccolò Palmieri (1978, ch. 29), who writes: "The emperor king dead, Manfredi's first task was to carry out his will by taking his corpse to Palermo... Embarking at Taranto, the corpse came to Palermo, and was deposited in the cathedral, in one of the Porphyry tombs that King Roger I had donated to the church of Cefalù, and from which Frederick had taken them, giving the church a feud in exchange" (confirming the value given in the Middle Ages to Porphyry tombs).

[202] The incisive expression is that of Delbrueck (1932).

[203] The death sentence was carried out in Campo Moricino (the current Piazza del Mercato in Naples), as recorded by the lines of a famous poem dedicated to him by the Veronese poet Aleardo Aleardi:
...La più bella città de le marine | Vide fremendo fluttuar un velo
Funereo su la piazza: e una bipenne | Calar sul ceppo, ove posava un capo
Con la pupilla del color del mare, | Pallido, altero, e con la chioma d'oro
(ALEARDI, *Corradino di Svevia*, vv. 16-21).

[204] One thinks of the example that could be offered by the famous Pantheon basin, see RUCCELLAI 1881, p. 573: "On the square opposite the church a very gracious Porphyry tomb with two lions, on the side, a fine *petrina* and with two vases of Porphyry beside"; but also ALDROVANDI 1558, p. 115: "In front of the rotonda on the square... there are also two Porphyry vases; one round, the other in the form of a sarcophagus; some think that they were brought here from Agrippa's Baths, which were nearby"; and again FL. VACCA, *Memorie*, Schreiber (ed.), (1881), 43ff., 66f., memoria 35: "The basalt lions and Porphyry basin, that from the time of Sixtus III were in front of the portico of the Rotonda...".

[205] VASARI, *Lives*, 1568, I, p. 10.

[206] BOSELLI 1996, I, p. 145, note 98, f. 9r.

[207] DONI, *Disegno...*, p. 26rv.

[208] COLONNA, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, I, p. 126.

[209] Contrary to the case of the recipe for the extraction of purple from the murex, which was effectively lost after the fall of the Byzantine empire. After numerous attempts in subsequent centuries, it was finally only rediscovered in 1833 by the Vicentine chemist Bartolomeo Bizio.

[210] *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, Hoffmann (ed.) (MGH, SS, XXXIXV), Hanover, 1980, III 27, 14-20, p. 396.

FIG. 44. VENICE, PALAZZO DUCALE. CAPITAL WITH THE SCULPTED FIGURES OF THE FOUR CROWNED MARTYRS, WHILE WORKING A PIECE OF REAL PORPHYRY.

FIG. 45. FLORENCE, BOBOLI GARDENS. HEAD OF GOLIATH BY RAFFAELLO CURRADI AND COSIMO SALVESTRINI (SEE H60).

profound mix of local tradition and external innovation that, despite being initially the skill of only a few individuals, between the eleventh and thirteenth century was to find its own identifying characterisation in the wonderful Capitoline work of the Cosmati.

THE RENAISSANCE

While the reuse of ancient Porphyry during the entire Middle Ages responded mainly to an ideological and symbolic need, from the first decades of the fifteenth century it actually took on new meanings. These were not simply superimposed on the previous imperial and Christic connotations, but were elevated into a profound fascination with antiquity, pervading the spirit of those humanists absorbed by the desire to imitate the classics, if not even surpass them.

So although at the start of the century there were already some marble workshops in Venice able to produce works in Porphyry for the cultured enjoyment of local collectors,[211] and in the Este's Ferrara a certain Jacomo da Brescia[212] was working as a "Porphyry sawyer", the enthusiasm for a new way of working the purple stone was asserted primarily at the Medici court.[213] This marked taste for polychrome marbles, whose prestige well suited the competitive nature of Florentine dynastic politics, was probably germinated in Medici spheres by the arrival in Florence of numerous Greek thinkers and scholars, called on to heal the rift with the Eastern Church at the council of 1438. It was almost certainly in those circumstances that the stories told by those skilled foreigners instilled the fervent desire in the spirit of Cosimo de' Medici and his successor, alongside a certain neoplatonic notion, to emulate the ancient magnificence of Byzantium by going back to those materials that for centuries had been the paradigm of its regality.[214] This seems suggested by the eye-catching disc of Porphyry placed to mark the tomb of Giovanni de' Medici and

[211] "Antique style" polychrome incrustation actually became a widespread feature in Renaissance Venice, such that when Philippe de Commynes visited the city, in 1495, he wrote that on the Grand Canal there were "large, tall houses of good stone, and the early ones are painted; the others built a hundred years ago: all have white marble in front, which comes here from Istria, a hundred miles away, and also Porphyry and serpentine on the front". Vasari also noted this same characteristic of Venetian architecture, of which "Porphyry, serpentine and other sorts of breccias are often inlaid, resulting in compositions which are very ornamental" (*Vasari on Technique*..., p. 57). Two capitals from the mid sixteenth century can still be seen in the Doge's Palace, depicting the Four Crowned Martyrs carving their own incrustations of Porphyry and serpentine, almost as if to confirm the legacy of this trade directly from the protectors themselves (fig. 44).

[212] Another name that was mentioned in the Este court was that of Domenico di Michele called "Segapreda", who in 1548 was asked to produce "a vase of modern Porphyry made in Ferrara" for Duke Hercules II (see DI CASTRO MOSCATI 1987, p. 248).

[213] Testimony of other examples of works in Porphyry is given by Boccaccio in his *Decameron*, VI, 9, 10.

[214] The Medici family's liking for the purple marble was such that when one of its members (Giovanni de' Medici, 1475-1521) ascended to the throne of Peter with the name of Leo X, taken by the fascination of Ciriaco d'Ancona's description of the beauty of Hagia Sophia and its decorations, he decided to make provision to ensure a kind of papal monopoly on the Porphyry present in Roman territory, completely forbidding its export. This policy ought to have been taken as a model by other popes, such as Pius V in 1570 (who, amongst other things, sent some Porphyry columns for the church in his birthplace of Boscomarengo) and Sixtus V in 1585. It seems that another member of the Medici household had the same predilection for this stone. It is reported that Catherine de' Medici was so covetous of porphyritic columns that not only did she use two (known by the names of "Saint Paul and Saint Peter" now in the Louvre) for the dynastic chapel - "the rotonda of the Valois" - in the basilica of Saint-Denis, but when passing through Arles with Charles IX ordered that "eight large and beautiful columns in antique Porphyry" be removed from the church of Notre Dame de la Major; along with some sarcophagi taken from Alyscamps, they were loaded onto a ship heading for Paris. But the ship sank and those extraordinary objects stayed on the bottom of the Rhone (see CONSTANS 1921, p. 351).

Piccarda Bueri (Cosimo's parents) in the sacristy of San Lorenzo; likewise the tile designed by Verrocchio and enriched with Porphyry inserts placed on the pavement of the family chapel to indicate the tomb of the *pater patriae*; and the splendid trunk sarcophagus that holds the sons of Lorenzo, Pietro and Giovanni, to which the same Florentine artist, Leonardo's teacher, added the metal hinges.[215]

This renewed interest in Porphyry in the years of the Renaissance *renovatio* seemed to infect every artistic sphere, almost always evoking richness and splendour, and at the same time obscuring the original symbolic inspiration. Such was the case with the painting by Benozzo Gozzoli depicting antique busts against a background of painted Porphyry in the *Saint Augustine Teaching in Rome*, which can be seen in the church of the same name in San Gimignano; likewise Andrea del Castagno, whose *Last Supper* for the refectory of Sant'Apollonia in Florence has the table resting on a pavement of purple squares; and again in the *Virgin* by Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio that, inspired by the celebrated *Our Lady of Philermos*, said to have been painted by Saint Luke, carries on the back a painted Porphyry disc framed in Antique Yellow; without forgetting the splendid miniatures by Gherardo di Giovanni for the edition of Homer's *Works* dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1489.[216]

Even the art of glazed ceramics was not immune to this particular decorative tendency. Andrea della Robbia wanted the niche containing the prophet Jeremiah on the tomb of Guglielmo Filastro to be decorated with Porphyry circles; and on the occasion of the wedding of Francesco de' Medici and Joanna of Austria, a statue of Justice in painted terracotta was placed on the granite column offered by Pius IV to replace the original in Porphyry still being worked on in the Ferrucci workshop.[217]

It was literature that most specifically celebrated the expressive emblematic power of Porphyry (fig. 45) and glorified its particular classicist feature that was so dear to the antiquarian sensibilities of Humanism, both in the manual genre[218] and in epic narrative. Leon Battista Alberti did so, joining the lively debate on the imitation of the ancients that long kept the intellectuals and artists of the fifteenth century busy. He presented his interpretation of the indispensable and subtle art of mimesis drawing his example from the trade of the mosaicists, who in putting together tesserae of antique marbles give form to an entirely new creature:

> *Ma costui qualunque e' fu trovatore di cosa sì vezzosa, forse fu a quel tempio ornatissimo di Efeso, quale tutta l'Asia construsse in anni non meno che settecento; e vide costui a tanto edificio coacervati e accresciuti e' suoi parieti con squarci grandissimi di monti marmorei, e videvi di qua e di là colonne altissime; e videvi sopra imposti e' travamenti e la copertura fatta di bronzo e inaurata; e vide che dentro e fuori erano e' gran tavolati di porfiro e diaspro a suoi luoghi distinti e applicati, e ogni cosa gli si porgea splendido; e miravavi ogni sua parte collustrata e piena di maraviglie: solo el spazzo stava sotto e' piedi nudo e negletto. Adunque, e per coadornare e per variare el pavimento dagli altri affacciati del tempio, tolse que' minuti rottami rimasi da' marmi, porfidi e diaspri di tutta la struttura, e coattatogli insieme, secondo e' loro colori e quadre compose quella e quell'altra pittura, vestendone e onestandone tutto el pavimento. Qual opera fu grata e iocunda nulla meno che quelle maggiori al resto dello edificio. Così avviene presso de' litterati. Gl'ingegni d'Asia e massime e' Greci, in più anni, tutti insieme furono inventori di tutte l'arte e discipline; e construssero uno quasi tempio e domicilio in suoi scritti a Pallade e a quella Pronea, dea de' filosofi stoici, ed estesero e' pareti colla investigazione del vero e del falso: statuironvi le colonne col discernere e annotare gli effetti e forze della natura, apposervi el tetto quale difendesse tanta opera dalle tempeste avverse; e questa fu la perizia di fuggire el male, e appetire e conseguire el bene, e odiare el vizio, chiedere e amare la virtù. Ma che interviene? Proprio el contrario da quel di sopra.*[219]

That mystical aura of the ancient and fantastic that Porphyry seemed to have did not escape Leonardo's eyes either, inspiring him to imagine the home of Aphrodite as such:

> For the site of Venus. I would make staircases on four sides, by which one goes to a lawn made by nature above a stone; which be made empty and supported in front by pillars, and beneath pierced with a grand portico; in which goes the water in various vases of granite, Porphyry and serpentine inside semicircles, and the water spreads in itself and around this portico.[220]

[215] A piece of Porphyry also appears between two toothed wheels in an emblem of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici.

[216] This liking for painted Porphyry also had an illustrious precedent in Pietro Lorenzetti, who on the background of some panels, such as the *Suffering Christ* and the *Nativity* in the Louvre, clearly imitate Porphyry incrustations. In fifteenth-century Venice it is also possible to see examples of this practice: a panel in which Saint Francis shows the stigma next to a Porphyry parapet; and of a Christ who appears to Saint George with a purple disc behind him. The essay written by E. J. Mundy in 1988 ("Porphyry and the 'Posthumous' Fifteenth-Century Portrait", pp. 37-43) cites at least five portraits whose background imitates a slab of Porphyry: two by Jan van Eyck, *Margaret van Eyck* and *Timotheos*, the celebrated portrait of Ginevra de' Benci by Leonardo, that of Alvise Contarini attributed to Giacometto Veneziano and the diptych by Christiaan de Hondt.

A passage from Alberti also suggests that the practice of painting Porphyry was widespread: "Therefore, it seems to me that I should first speak of colours; then I shall investigate how they vary under light. I speak here as a painter. Through the mixing of colours infinite other colours are born, but there are only four true colours - as there are four elements - from which more and more other colours may be thus created. Red is the colour of fire, blue of the air, green of the water, and of the earth grey and ash. Other colours, such as jasper and Porphyry, are mixtures of these" (ALBERTI, *On Painting*, I, 9). Painting on slabs of Porphyry was another thing: according to Vasari the inventor of this technique was Sebastiano del Piombo, spurred on by the desire to create a work that would challenge time. This, which became a Florentine speciality, developed from the mid sixteenth century and generally featured historic subjects and landscapes. It was later used to portray famous faces, from Benvenuto Cellini, which is in the Renaissance Museum of Écouen, to a portrait of the young Ferdinand de' Medici attributed to the circle of Vasari himself, and an *Ecce Homo* by Palma il Giovane in the Bartolomeo della Nave Collection.

[217] The fashion for Porphyry was so familiar that, says Vasari, during a meal among artists Andrea del Sarto created a composition in the centre of the buffet that imitated an octagonal building, whose roof made of cheese and other foods was supported by sausage columns that up close looked like the Porphyry ones of ancient temples (VASARI, *Lives*, 1568, V, p. 481).

[218] The translation of Vitruvius's *De Architectura* by Cesare Cesariano dates from these years, in which one reads: "*...Per reducerle in altra generazione e forma, ma ancora alcune parte e cosa terreste non potere così de facili dal rogo essere discipate né combuste, como se vede de molte generazioni de pietre, maximi alcuni lapilli gemmati aut precipue porfiriti quali nascono in Africa*" (VITRUVIUS, *Ten Books on Architecture*).

[219] ALBERTI, *Profugiorum ab aerumna libri*, III, ch. 2.

[220] LEONARDO DA VINCI, *Scritti letterari, Proemi "Il sito di Venere"*.

The prize for the singer of the beauty of the purple marble goes, however, to Ariosto, who not only intended praising the glory of his patrons, describing as follows the entry of Rinaldo into the Gonzaga palace in Révere, in the Mantuan Oltrepò:

Entering, his eyes around Rinaldo threw,
And saw a place, whose like is seldom spied,
Of beauteous fabric, and well ordered plan;
Nor such huge cost befitted private man.

Of serpentine and of hard Porphyry are
The stones which form the gateway's arch above.
Of bronze the portal leaves, which figures bear,
Whose lively features seem to breathe and move.[221]

He imagines that after Bradamante's death, at the hands of Agramante, his body wrapped in purple as was the custom in the past (octave 176) is deposited in a tomb that should be the equal of his heroic courage:

He in the church was placed; and, when with vain
Lament the women had bemoaned the dead,
And Kyrie Eleison, by the priestly train,
And other holy orisons were said,
In a fair ark, upraised on columns twain,
Was reared, with sumptuous cloth of gold o'erspread.
So willed Orlando; till he could be laid
In sepulchre of costlier matter made:

Nor out of Sicily the Count departs,
Till porphyries he procures and alabasters,
And fair designs; and in their several arts
Has with large hire engaged the primest masters.
Next Flordelice, arriving in those parts,
Raises the quarried slabs and rich pilasters;
Who, good Orlando being gone before,
Is hither wafted from the Africk shore.[222]

FIG. 46. FLORENCE, PITTI PALACE, MUSEO DEGLI ARGENTI. *VENUS AND CUPID* BY PIER MARIA SERBALDI DA PESCIA (SEE S64).

The main merit that is (wrongfully) credited to the Renaissance is essentially the rediscovery of how to forge and temper the tools used to work Porphyry, which is certainly one of the hardest of stones ("*A' dì nostri non s'è mai condotto pietre di questa sorte a perfezione alcuna, per aver gli artefici nostri perduto il modo di temperare i ferri, e così gli strumenti da condurle*"[223]). The person responsible for this is still the subject of debate: whether Pier Maria Serbaldi da Pescia (called "Tagliacarne"),[224] who between the end of the fifteenth century and the start of the sisteenth carved a series of works including a statuette of Venus (fig. 46)[225] and a medal depicting Peace who burns weapons,[226] or rather Paolo Geri, called "Pilucca", who, in reply to a letter in which

[221] ARIOSTO, *Orlando Furioso*, XLII, 73-74.
[222] IBID., XLIII, 181-182. A few decades later this passage was to inspire G. B. Marino, who in recounting the obsequies of his *Adone*, imagined that it was Apollo with the sound of his cithara to make the finest stones hasten for that sepulchre:
...corron veloce alla divina cetra | la frigia selce e l'africana pietra,
e di Sparta e di Paro il marmo corre.
O miracol di suon, forza di versi, | onde si vede in balen raccorre
gran quantità di porfidi diversi, | e, mentre viensi il cumulo a comporre
s'incominciano a far politi e tersi
(3, 19, vv. 331-338).
[223] VASARI, *Lives*, 1568, p. 10.
[224] Son of an engraver and trained in the workshop of Giacomo Tagliacarne, from whom he took his name, he was one of the best cutters of hard stone employed by Lorenzo and Piero de' Medici. It is said that Vasari also considered him "an excellent imitator of ancient things"; and his expertise in classical art is shown by the unusual but proud signature in Greek he affixed beneath the statue of Venus, almost as if it were an affectation copied from antique glyptics. In the book by M. Antonio Michiel, *Notizia d'opere del disegno* (1896, p. 52) the presence of a "basin of ligada Porphyry with a copper rim" by Serbaldi is mentioned as being in the Venetian collection of Andrea Odoni, which seems to have come from the collection of his uncle Francesco Giglio: it is probable that it is the same one cited in the *Notizia di anonimo* (Morelli [ed.], Bassano, 1800, p. 7), which says: "In Zio's home in Venice there was a Porphyry cup by Pierto Maria da Firenze, stonecutter, which was concealed underground in Rome on the entrance of King Charles [Charles VIII, 1494], with many other things". What is certain rather is that in 1499 Serbaldi entered into the service of Leo X, who nominated him engraver of the papal coins; as shown by a series of payments made by the Sacro Palazzo Pontificio and the Camera Apostolica for the production of some medals with the profile of the pope.
[225] Little is known about the history of this work, now housed in the Silverware Museum at Palazzo Pitti in Florence. The rediscovery of the seal with the effigy of Leo X has induced scholars to think that it was probably he who commissioned it.
[226] Conserved in the Louvre, this medal was also requested by Leo de' Medici: Peace portrayed in the act of burning weapons evokes a theme that was dear to the pope, who often presented himself as the restorer of justice and peace, partly because of his diplomatic successes; not least the reconciliation between Ferdinand the Catholic and Louis XIII.

he made his protests at having been robbed of his admirable invention, in November 1545 received these words of comfort from Aretino:

> [...] *Che vi si paia grave di non poter ritrovare chi vi abbia tolto il segreto da voi solo trovato in lo intagliare, come il marmo, il Porfido, non mi pare che deviate con tanta ansietade affliggervene; conciosia che il tempo, padre de le cosa ch'ei rivela, e patrigno di quelle che nasconde, vi farà propizio in discoprirvi la verità del tutto.*[227]

That which is certain is that many of the most illustrious craftsmen of that unrepeatable period were forced to forego working this marble due to the poor strength of their tools.[228] Among them was certainly the brilliant L. B. Alberti, who, not finding a way to strengthen his tools, thought of building a device that could achieve his aim:

> [...] Leon Battista Alberti, the first to make experiments therein not however in things of great moment, did not find, among the many tempering baths that he put to the test, any that answered better than goats' blood; because, though in the working it removed but little of that hardest of stones and was always striking sparks of fire, it served him nevertheless so far as to enable him to have carved, in the threshold of the principal door of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, the eighteen antique letters, very large and well proportioned, which are seen on the front of the step, in a piece of Porphyry. These letters form the words BERNARDO ORICELLARIO. And because the edge of the chisel did not suit for squaring the corners, or giving the necessary polish and finish, he had a little revolving drill made, with a handle like a spit, which was easily worked by placing the said handle against the chest, and putting the hands into the crank in order to turn it. [...] But all this effort cost so much time, that Leon Battista lost heart, and did not put his hand to anything else, either in the way of statues, or vases, or other delicate work.[229]

Even more sensational and unexpected, given the stature of the artist, was Michelangelo's capitulation. Faced with the commission from Julius III to mend the Porphyry vessel given him by Ascanio Colonna, he was forced to accept the bitter truth that his talent would not be enough to overcome the hardness of that stone:

> [...] The year 1553 Pope Julius III, having been presented by Signor Ascanio Colonna with a very handsome antique Porphyry basin, measuring seven braccia across, ordered it to be restored, for some pieces were missing, that it might adorn his vineyard: the work was undertaken, and many things tried by the advice of Michelagnolo [sic] Buonarroti and of other excellent masters, but after a great length of time the enterprise was despaired of, chiefly because it was found impossible to preserve some of the arrises, a matter essential to the undertaking: Michelagnolo [sic], moreover, even though accustomed to the hardness of stones, gave up the attempt, as did all the others, and nothing more was done.[230]

The obduracy of that compact marble was finally beaten by the obstinacy of a modest Fiesole sculptor, Francesco di Giovanni Ferrucci, called "Tadda",[231] who, putting his faith in a special temper obtained from "I don't know what herbs",[232] managed to make the vessel, to a design by Vasari, that is now in the centre of the courtyard at Palazzo Vecchio, and holds a putto by Verrocchio. And realising "that the secret given him by the Duke was extremely rare", he decided to set up a workshop in Florence specialising in the working of Porphyry, from which many precious works emerged: from the famous statue of Justice conceived by Bartolomeo Ammannati and placed on the granite column in Piazza della Trinità in 1581,[233] to a series of meticulous portraits on medallions, in which the profiles of various figures were depicted, including Cosimo I, his wife Eleanor of Toledo, Lorenzo the Magnificent, Giovanni de' Medici, but also Savonarola,[234] Clement VII and Leo X.[235] The case of the bas relief with the head of Christ was then emblematic. Even Michelangelo was incredulous before such skill, rejoicing "much to see in our times sculpture enriched by this very rare gift, so long desired in vain up until now" (fig. 47).[236]

[227] ARETINO, *The Letters of Pietro Aretino*, II, p. 144.

[228] "*...Solo ci resta una maraviglia, come tali opere per virtù humana sieno state fatte: che arreca uno stupore tanto meraviglioso nelle menti; che in qualunque luogo si veggiono tali statue scolpite in dette pietre, poste che le sieno circondate da molte pitture, vedrete ogn'huomo co l'animo, et col cervello sospeso a considerare in che modo et con quali mezzi tali opere siano condotte a tal fine; et con incredibile stupore andranno guardando ogni rilievo et cavo, massime quello dive l'occho et le dita non possono aggiugnere abbigliate di vari habiti et diverse allacciature; delle quali nascono molte et bellissime pieghe di panni così sottili come grossi, dati al vento con gl'ignudi trasforati che habbino le loro membra in aria, le quali difficilmente aspettano i colpi per la durezza della pietra; cose inmaginabili et da spaventare gl'intelletti nostri*" (DONI, *Disegno...*, p. 26rv).

[229] VASARI, *Vasari on Technique...*, pp. 30-31.

[230] IBID., p. 32.

[231] Of whom Baldinucci in his *Notizie* wrote: "*Fu solito dire che, non riuscire bono scultore colui, che per lunga consuetudine non aveva bene stracciato i calzoni, ed arrotate le natiche in su la pietra, che è quello appunto, che sogliono fare coloro che lavorano di quadro*" (III, p. 539).

[232] Whose secret Vasari attributes, with an excessively fawning spirit, to Duke Cosimo I: "*Havendo l'anno 1555 il signor Duca Cosimo condotto dal suo palazzo, e giardino de' Pitti, una bellissima acqua nel cortile del suo principale palazzo di Firenze, per farvi una fonte di straordinaria bellezza, trovasi tra i suoi rottami alcuni pezzi di Porfido assai grandi, ordinò, che di quelli si facesse una tazza col suo piede per la detta fonte; e per agevolar'al maestro il modo di lavorar'il porfido, fece di non so che herbe stillar'un'acqua di tanta virtù, che spegnendovisi dentro i ferri bollenti fa loro una tempera durissima*" (see VASARI, *Lives*, 1568, p. 12).

[233] It seems that it took Ammannati a good thirteen years to complete the work, despite counting on the assistance of his sons, and he was in any case forced by the lack of raw material to make it in several pieces.

[234] It is said that the artist carved this medallion in gratitude to the Dominican preacher (died in 1498), whose apparition had miraculously cured him of the plague.

[235] Apart from these bas reliefs, Tadda carved other small objects for the Medici, including a Porphyry mortar at the request of Cosimo I, presumably for his experiments on vegetable extracts. The hardness of this marble actually makes it a perfect material for making mortars for the pharmacy (such that the word "porphyrise" means precisely to "reduce to a very fine powder"), and for producing pigments in artists' workshops. Agostino del Riccio speaks of the usefulness of Porphyry and serpentine for pulverising the colours in his *Istoria delle pietre* ("Are not the stones useful for the masters of design and painters for grinding their colours on Porphyry and serpentine?", p. 135).

[236] Four profiles of Christ were made by Francesco Ferrucci: one given as a gift by Cosimo I to Emperor Maximilian in 1565; one kept in the church of Santa Croce

Despite the obvious professional opportunity offered them by jealously safeguarding this technical secret, Tadda's sons – apart from Romolo, who carried out some work – did not follow in their father's footsteps and make Porphyry the sole qualification of their trade. Those who did so, however, were his grandson Mattia di Giovanbattista Ferrucci,[237] and the more well known Raffaello Curradi, pupil of Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci (Tadda's cousin), who made the head of a bust of Ferdinand II now in the Uffizi, and a statue of Moses, which was completed by Cosimo Salvestrini and placed in the grotto in the Boboli Gardens (fig. 48).

The challenge of the hardness of those antique stones was an important opportunity for the ingenious interpreters of the Renaissance spirit, not only to make a direct comparison with the science and art of the classics, of whom they professed themselves the legitimate heirs, but also to show that the human intellect is capable of overcoming the obstacles placed by nature, by looking to solutions offered by technology and not trusting indolently in the metaphysical intervention of heaven.[238] It was not part of their industrious temperament to dwell on an overly medieval fatalism, imagining that the right temper for their tools would be conferred *istinctu divinitatis*, as had been handed down by the legendary story of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

> It was their virtue not of excellent mastery, or human industry, but of Christian piety, for whatever they did, they did in the name of our Jesus Christ. He removed the hardness from the stones; he gave it to the tools; he was the temper; he the whetstone.[239]

On the contrary it was quite fitting that the pioneering experimentalism of the age should try the efficacy of every kind of concoction and vegetable composition that experience and the available chemical knowledge could suggest ("*noi per fuggire questo biasimo, con grande ansietà, fatiche e spese, habbiamo fatto prova di tutto quello che ci è venuto alle mani o alla mente*"):[240] so attempts were made with the blood of a well-fed goat, with ivy, with pomegranate juice, with a mix of quicklime and smelling salts; or with distillates of sour cherry and onion extract. In an imaginative accumulation of alchemical traditions and bizarre intuitions, many sought the right

Fig. 47. Bosco Marengo, Monumental Complex of Santa Croce. Head of Christ by Francesco Ferrucci del Tadda (see R8).

Fig. 48. Florence, Grotto of Moses (Pitti Palace). Roman togaed torso integrated by Raffaello Curradi as Moses (see S33).

at Boscomarengo, dated 1562; and two others commissioned by Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici in 1569 and by Cardinal Flavio Orsini in 1593 as a gift for Cardinal Gesualdi.

[237] According to scholars, some profiles of Christ that closely follow those by the grandfather are his; as well as a portrait of Ferdinand I de' Medici, a profile of the Virgin inspired by the fresco of the Annunciation in the Santissima Annunziata, Florence, and possibly a Cupid bending its bow in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

[238] Many of the methods that were prepared to overcome the problems caused by the hardness of Porphyry were based on false beliefs. Such as the idea of working the material just after it had been quarried because it was thought to be more malleable (false); or subjecting it to the heat of the fire, as Vasari himself recalls: "And that in consequence he who works in Porphyry must ascertain whether or not it has been subjected to the action of fire, because if it has, although it does not completely lose its colour, nor crumble away, it lacks much of its natural vividness and never takes so good a polish as when it has not been so subjected; and, what is worse, it easily fractures in the working. It is also worth knowing, as regards the nature of Porphyry, that, if put into the furnace, it does not burn away, nor allow other stones round it to be thoroughly burnt; indeed, as to itself, it grows raw..." (*Vasari on Technique...*, pp. 33-34). By a curious chance the difficulty of extracting purple also at times called for special measures, one of which is noted by Pliny: "It is most profitable for them [the 'purples', or shells] to be taken after the rising of the dog-star or before spring-time, since when they have axed themselves over with slime, they have their juices fluid. But this fact is no known to the dyers' factories, although it is of primary importance" (*Natural History*, IX, 133).

[239] Memmolo, *Della vita, chiesa et reliquie de' Santi quattro Coronati*, p. 9. The reference here is clearly to the celebrated fragment of the *Passio* in which Claudius recites this prayer in answer to Simplicius, who had asked him what the secret of the temper of his tools was: "*In nomine domini Iesu Christi, sit hoc ferrum forte et sanum ad facienda opera*" (see the translation on p. 69 of this book). It is interesting that Polydore Vergil also thought that the technique for tempering the sculptor's tools was to be attributed to the Jewish genius: in his *De rerum inventoribus* he attributes "*l'invenzione dell'arte della fabbrica de' ferri a Tubalcam, figliolo di Lamecco, sicome anche Clemente attribuisce a Dela Giudeo il dare ai ferri la tempera, quantunque Esiodo dice che Dela era huomo della Scithia*" (p. 121).

[240] The passage is taken from the manuscript BNCF, Magl. XVI.103, which contains the *Magiae naturalis sive de miraculis rerum naturalium* by Giovanbattista della Porta (*Libro XIII, la Magia*, ch. VI, f. 5v).

FIG. 49. VENICE, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM STOREROOMS. *YOUNG SAINT JOHN* BY TOMMASO FEDELI (?) (SEE S67).

recipe for giving strength to their chisels, to the point even of distilling sibylline ingredients, such as dried cow's hoof, or crushed worms in radish juice, and even dew collected in the month of May from chick-pea leaves.[241]

On the wave of this intense technological research aimed at making the working of hard stones easier, and in line with a widespread antiquarian sensibility, there was in those years an interesting change of perspective on the symbolic meanings of Porphyry (fig. 49). Far from the old needs of the political characterisation of a now municipalised power, the use of this marble, though not fully freed from its traditional ideological sense, was enriched in the pragmatic imagination of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century artists with new and at times prosaic interpretations. No longer considered exclusively the solemn emblem of sovereignty and regal decorum, Porphyry became the paradigm of strength and tenacity in common figurative language,[242] a metaphor of the battle with nature in which man is called to give proof of his value. Its notorious resistance to carving lent itself to being a term of comparison for every kind of parallelism, from the most licentious of Aretino:

> But the other sycophants are not the midwife, to whom a look is enough to corrupt the virginity of iron, steel and Porphyry, not to mention that of flesh;[243]

to the decidedly philosophical of Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi on the difficulties of raising the human condition:

> God does not like it, but passions and interests are not removed in a moment like old clothes in order to put on new; human improvement is not a work of clay moulding, but of Porphyry wheel: truth does not fly, because error has chained balls of iron to its feet as used in punishment...[244]

The toughness of Porphyry also returns in various typical images with a certain didactic flavour in the seventeenth century; we read for example, in Daniello Bartoli, that:

> If you have a mind with a weak and untempered point, you should not try to work Porphyry, serpentine and marbles much harder than your chisel. Measure the sail with the wind, and the rudder with the waves...[245]

And again in Marino

> *Ben del Porfido solo*
> *Quando ogni sasso per pietà si spezza*
> *Potea l'aspra durezza*
> *Sostener del suo languido Fattore*
> *Nel colore del dolore.*
> *E tu ch'a tanto stratio, a tanto duolo,*
> *Ancor non spetri l'ostinata voglia,*
> *Perfido peccatore,*
> *Ben hai Porfido il core.*[246]

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On the basis of some travellers' accounts and a large number of archive documents, modern scholars think that over the course of some generations the art of sculpting Porphyry was gradually neglected in Florence and many other cities in northern Italy, where materials that were easier to work and find won the favour of artists and clients. On the contrary this trade continued to

[241] See Appendix II for some of these recipes.
[242] From this point of view Porphyry shared the same fate as purple, whose colouring strength was thought exemplary, also by Lucretius: "Again the purple dye of the shellfish so unites with the body of wool alone, that it cannot in any case be severed, not were you to take pains to undo what is done with Neptune's wave, not if the whole sea were willed to wash it out with all its waters" (*On the Nature of Things*, VI, vv. 176-180).
[243] The passage is taken from *Dialogo nel quale la Nanna insegna a la Pippa*, "III giornata".
[244] See GUERRAZZI 1882, part III.
[245] They are the words of the Ferrara Jesuit Daniello Bartoli (1840, II, 22), who writes earlier in the same book: "On the contrary, in others the aim is to sculpt Porphyry stones. An image does not take shape there, if not by the force of chisels and with great patience, but it is certainly durable in that neither time nor oblivion can erase it" (II, 16).
[246] MARINO, *La Galleria, Historie*, p. 60.

be quietly continued in some small Roman workshops, where old families of artisans who were very familiar with the city's riches could still gain access to that reserve of stripped material that over the centuries had been diminished by an uninterrupted flow of removals.[247] This seems to emerge with considerable clarity from some letters that were exchanged between March and April 1596 by Cardinal Del Monte and Signor Emilio de' Cavalieri, who on behalf of Grand Duke Ferdinand I de' Medici, had charged the prelate with tracking down and hiring a local craftsman in Rome able to produce works in Porphyry at the Florentine court. A letter dated 15 March, of which some extracts follow, clearly shows not only that this professional skill was so rare as to be in great demand and very well paid, but also that all the Porphyry worked at the time came from the ruins of Rome, of which evidently the local masons had complete knowledge:

Molto Illustre Signore...Hora ho trattato con il scalpellino che lavora il Porfido, il quale si parte malissimo volentieri di qua, poiché guadagna ciò che vuole. Ha di provision ferma dalli frati di San Paolo [fuori le Mura] scudi venti il mese, casa pagata et spese per lui, la moglie, una figlia et un garzone...Hora le son stato tanto attorno con Silla scultore [Silla Longhi] con queste condizioni. Prima, vuole esser condotto a Fiorenza con la moglie e una puttina di due anni et un garzone, a spese del Gran Duca. In Fiorenza poi vuole la casa di bando, dove possa lavorare ché nessuno lo veda. Di più, che Sua Altezza lo provveda di ferro per fare i scalpelli, et carbone et mantici per accomodarli a suo modo... Di più vuole che se Sua Altezza non se ne volesse servire, l'habbia a far ricondurre qua a sue spese: et questo è quanto se n'è potuto cavare... Gli ho domandato se troveremo dei porfidi assai da poter lavorare; mi ha risposto che se Sua Altezza volesse coprire tutta Fiorenza de' porfidi, che gli basta l'animo di trovarli, et mi ha detto che io veda in ogni modo di buscare due colonne grandissime che ha il Cardinale Ascanio [Colonna], il quale non le stima, et sono le più bella cosa che sia in Europa, et che lui le ridurrebbe a tutta perfezione.[248]

FIG. 50. ROME, PALAZZO DORIA PAMPHILJ. WORKSHOP OF SILVIO CALCI, LARGE VASE (SEE V44).

In reality that which a careful eye can read between the lines of this correspondence is the profound change that had already started taking place in the complicated world of Porphyry art from the end of the sixteenth century. The actors had changed, the clients had changed, and even the ingrained symbolic function of this stone had partly lost its original spirit. There were no longer dynastic powers whose relationship with classicism demanded legitimisation and promotional qualification; and that which had been a difficult and varied art had become in both its inspiration and models a repeated practice of money-grubbers who responded to the names of Marcello Bigeri,[249] Tommaso Fedele,[250] Lorenzo Nizza,[251] Silvio Calci da Velletri (fig. 50),[252] Lorenzo Cardelli,[253] and Paolo Santi.[254]

A long period lasting many centuries in the history of purple symbols was in fact gradually coming to an end. The representation of power steadily took on new expressive forms and new ideological contents in a rapidly developing, fragmentary, political scene. That which for a long time had been the sign of senatorial *dignitas* and imperial rule now lay as an indistinct, ermine-hemmed accessory on the shoulders of foppish sovereigns or was perpetuated in the cardinal's garments created by the chromatic skill of court painters. No longer the distinctive sign of the grand power of the monarch, the Porphyry stone symbol of imper-

[247] Vasari himself describes the dearth of raw material: "All that remains to be said of Porphyry is that, because the quarries are now lost to knowledge, it is necessary to make use of what is left of it in the form of ancient fragments, drums of columns and other pieces" (*Vasari on Technique...*, p. 33).

[248] The letter is printed in full in Appendix III in this book on p. 53. Winckelmann was also able to verify that a flourishing activity of Porphyry working still existed in Rome in the mid eighteenth century. In the circle of his protector Cardinal Albani in particular, he was able to observe the craftsmen at work, of whom he writes, paying plenty of attention to their tools: "The sculptor at every blow of the mallet sets off sparks; and despite his persistence at the work, it takes him more than a year to define the parts of a statue and hollow out the drapery. Once this operation has been finished, he tries to give his piece its final treatment, which he does with emery powder, it takes about a year to give it a shine, assuming that there is one worker to one statue. [...] As soon as the stone has been roughed out, as those of the art say, he uses the iron chisel with a squared point; he hits these tools with a stone-hammer, a hammer with a point on one side and toothed on the other, and finally goes over the work again with the scraper and other cutting objects, until he takes up the rasp and file to polish the figure" (WINCKELMANN 2003a, p. 275).

[249] Some receipts for payment tell us that he was employed to repair a Porphyry vessel in 1711.

[250] Possibly the most well known of the names cited: he was nicknamed "Porphyry" because of his skill at carving this marble. A dozen odd pieces are attributed to him, including a bust of Vespasian made in 1619 for the Borghese collection, busts of Cosimo II de' Medici and Ferdinand I to a model by Pietro Tacca. He produced portraits of Antonio Barberino and Caterina Borbadori for the Barberini between 1626-1627, and the two heads of Titus and Germanicus noted in the family inventories. His most famous work though is the Porphyry copy of a relief by François Duquesnoy, entitled *Sacred Love that Wins over Profane Love*, given to Philip IV by Francesco Barberini.

[251] He too was on the payroll of the Borghese family, for whom he carved some vases between 1620 and 1622.

[252] Apart from certain vases in the Dora Panphilj Collection, he made a Porphyry urn for the cathedral of San Massimino, commissioned in 1632 by the prior general of the Dominicans to hold the relics of Saint Mary Magdelene.

[253] He worked on the furnishings for Palazzo Chigi in 1766; under the direction of Luigi Valadier he made a fireplace for the Borghese prince.

[254] It is known that this craftsman worked at the Villa Borghese building site, where apart from restoring a Porphyry urn, he carved a cup intended as a pendant for another vase in the collection.

FIG. 51. BERGAMO, ACCADEMIA CARRARA (GIFT OF FEDERICO ZERI).
PROFILE OF *LUIGI FONTI* BY GIOVANNI DUPRÉ (SEE R36).

FIG. 52. ROME, DEL BUFALO COLLECTION.
PROFILE OF CHERUB WITH WING BY RIGO RIGHI, 1927 (SEE S70).

ial purple, by now uprooted from the structures of the Urbe, had been relegated to the space of immense private collections, where, tickling the vanity of the Medici, the royals of France, the Borghese etc., or decorating the homes of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazzarino, it had been reduced to the rank of a delightful affectation for rich collectors.

By a strange fate, though, it was at the terminal shudder of this slow decline that the curious task of offering antiquity its due historic nemesis awaited; and this was not the failed attempt by the Brindley company of London to reopen the Gebel Abu Dukhan quarries, but a subtle lesson that was imparted to those who wanted to present themselves as the last Caesars of the modern age. It fell to the lot of Mussolini - who had so aped the Roman emperors to the point of organising an expedition to the Thebaid desert to find blocks of Porphyry - to have a sepulchre in Dolomitic rock,[255] while Bonaparte, for his part, never received from the easily subjugated Egypt that which instead was granted him by the quarries of Russia, which on the contrary had decreed his ruin.[256] One of the last sepulchres in Porphyry was that of Umberto I conceived by the architect Giuseppe Sacconi and now in the Pantheon. The twentieth century saw various sculptors take up the challenge of Porphyry's intransigence, both in Rome and Florence, notable among them being Giovanni Duprè, who in 1855 created the oval bas relief in Porphyry with the profile of the sculptor Luigi Fonti (fig. 51), described on the verso of the oval as "...rediscoverer of the temper that makes chisels strong enough to cut Porphyry...". In the first half of the twentieth century counterfeiters and artists measured themselves against the unpleasant hardness of this material. Between the two world wars some artists of those two decades, such as Dario Viterbo, Publio Morbiducci and Rigo Righi (fig. 52), sculpted both Italian and Egyptian Porphyry. Roman craftsmen and artists continued the tradition of the ancient marble workers carving the "Thebaid marble", among whom we recall Gildo Pedrazzoni, Sernicoli called "Bibitone", Fiorentini and Professor Onori.

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The story just told has revealed the existence of a place in the boundless universe of the human imagination in which apparently dissimilar concepts and objects coexist in total harmony; where invisible links hold together Homeric death (*πορφύρεος θάνατος*) and the Ptolemy household; the power of the Roman Empire and the rituality of the Byzantine court; the blood of Christ and the genius of the Renaissance. That place is the space of the metaphor: it is only there that all this happens, because it is only there that the power of the symbol and the symbol of power come to penetrate one another to their very essence.

[255] On that expedition Il Duce sent a group of Alpini (we publish the photo of the signature scratched onto the wall of the Roman quarry by: Berardi, Lerario, Quatolo and Rossi), who actually visited the ancient deposits on Mon Porphyrites, but without managing to bring anything back.

[256] The urn that now stands out at Saint-Louis-des-Invalides is not Porphyry, but red porphyrite from Finnish deposits.

Appendices

Appendix I

Tertullian, *On Idolatry | De idolatria*, XVIII, 43-49:

"But we must now treat of the garb only and apparatus of office. There is a dress proper to every one, as well for daily use as for office and dignity. That famous purple, therefore, and the gold as an ornament of the neck, were, among the Egyptians and Babylonians, ensigns of dignity, in the same way as bordered, or striped, or palm-embroidered togas, and the golden wreaths of provincial priests are now; but not on the same terms. For they used only to be conferred, under the name of *honour*, on such as deserved the familiar friendship of kings (whence, too, such used to be styled the 'purpled-men' of kings, just as among us, some, from their white toga, are called 'candidates'); but *not* on the understanding that that garb should be tied to *priesthoods* also, or *to any idol-ceremonies*. For if *that* were the case, of course men of such holiness and constancy would instantly have refused the defiled dresses; and it would instantly have appeared that Daniel had been no zealous slave to idols, nor worshipped Bel, nor the dragon, which long after *did* appear. That purple, therefore, was simple, and used not at that time to be a mark of *dignity* among the barbarians, but of *nobility*. For as both Joseph, who had been a slave, and Daniel, who through captivity had changed his state, attained the freedom of the states of Babylon and Egypt through the dress of barbaric nobility; so among us believers also, if need so be, the bordered toga will be proper to be conceded to boys, and the stole to girls, as ensigns of birth, not of power; of race, not of office; of rank, not of superstition. But the purple, or the other ensigns of dignities and powers, dedicated from the beginning to idolatry engrafted on the dignity and the powers, carry the spot of their own profanation; since, moreover, bordered and striped togas, and broad-barred ones, are put even on idols themselves; and *fasces* also, and rods, are borne before them; and deservedly, for demons are the magistrates of this world: they bear the *fasces* and the purples, the ensigns of one college. What end, then, will you advance if you use the garb indeed, but administer not the functions of it? In things unclean, none can appear clean. If you put on a tunic defiled in itself, it perhaps may not be defiled through you; but you, through it, will be unable to be clean. Now by this time, you who argue about 'Joseph' and 'Daniel', know that things old and new, rude and polished, begun and developed, slavish and free, are not always comparable. For they, even by their circumstances, were slaves; but you, the slave of none, in so far as you are the slave of Christ alone, who has freed you likewise from the captivity of the world, will incur the duty of acting after your Lord's pattern. That Lord walked in humility and obscurity, with no definite home: for 'the Son of man', said He, 'hath not where to lay His head'; unadorned in dress, for else He had not said, 'Behold, they who are clad in soft raiment are in kings' houses': in short, inglorious in countenance and aspect, just as Isaiah withal had fore-announced. If, also, He exercised no right of power even over His own followers, to whom He discharged menial ministry; if, in short, though conscious of His own kingdom, He shrank back from being made a king, He in the fullest manner gave His own an example for turning coldly from all the pride and garb, as well of dignity as of power. For *if they were to be used*, who would rather have used them than the Son of God? What kind and what number of *fasces* would escort Him? What kind of purple would bloom from His shoulders? what kind of gold would beam from His head, had He not judged the glory of the world to be alien both to Himself and to His? Therefore what He was unwilling to accept, He has rejected; what He rejected, He has condemned; what He condemned, He has counted as part of the devil's pomp. For He would not have condemned things, except such as were not His; but things which are not God's, can be no other's but the devil's. If you have forsworn 'the devil's pomp', know that whatever there you touch is idolatry. Let even this fact help to remind you that all the powers and dignities of this world are not only alien to, but enemies of, God; that through them punishments have been determined against God's servants; through them, too, penalties prepared for the impious are ignored. But 'both your birth and your substance are troublesome to you in resisting idolatry'. For avoiding it, remedies cannot be lacking; since, even if they be lacking, there remains that one by which you will be made a happier magistrate, not in the earth, but in the heavens."
(http://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-07.htm#P606_265571, translated by the Rev. S. Thelwall, 1869.)

Appendix II

The following are some recipes for tempering sculpting tools prepared by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century craftsmen:

1.

Giuliano da Sangallo (1516)

Riceta a lavorare el Porfido o altre priete durissime

"*A lavorare el Porfido; togli de la piantorsina, cioè de la foglia, e metila in fero chol quale tu vo' lavorare, e metila al fuocho, e tenpera detto fero chon dete foglie e chol sugho di deta erba, e poi lavora chon deto fero nel modo e forma di granite uno anelo e basta.*
Ancora e' lavorare detto Porfido: tenpera li feri nel sugho del elera, o veramente tu darai mangiare a un becho 15 giorni senpre foglie d'elera, e di poi piglia l'orina di deto becho e tenpera cho eso e'feri, cioè subie; e tu piglia el sugho et tenpera chol sugho, e lavorerai detto Porfido cho grandissima facilità e basta."
(See Falb 1902, pp. 51-52.)

2.
MASTRO GIOVANNI (1561)

Tempera per il Porfido assai buona di mastro Giovanni scalpellino

"*L'acqua piovana raccolta netta e tenuta in una vettina o simil cosa al'aria; è tempera la miglior' che egli habbia provato, se quanto più sta al'aria, tanto miglior diventa.*"
(See BNC di Firenze, Magl. XVI.34, *Raccolta di segreti diversi*, f. 1v.)

3.
ISABELLA CORTESE (1562)

Tempera che taglia il Porfido

"*Tempera ferro nell'acqua stillata di brancha ursina. Anche il sugo di mele granato con la scorza fa il medesimo.*"
(See I. Cortese, *Secreti*, Venice, 1561, p. 57.)

4.
STEFANO ROSSELLI (C. 1572)

Tempera per ferri da lavorare il Porfido

"*Piglia foglie delle marasche o'vero visciole, stillarle et in essa acqua temperare il ferro.*"
(See Bib. Maruc. Firenze, ms. C.145, Stefano di maestro Romulo Rosselli, *Libro di diversi et vari secreti*, f. 15.)

5.
GIOVANBATTISTA DELLA PORTA (1589)

Tempera di scalpelli tale che taglia il Porfido: Capitolo Sesto

"*Gli antichi nostri hebbero gran' pratica nella tempera degli scalpelli, che con gra' facilità intagliavano il Porfido, come appare per infinite opere pervenute a noi, ma nessuno ci insegnò il modo, et del tutto ci è ignoto, con gran' vergogna della nostra età, che tiene poco conto dellebelle invenzioni et utili. Noi per fuggire questo biasimo, con grandi ansietà, fatiche et spese, habbiamo fatto prova di tutto quello che ci è venuto alle mani o nella mente. Et finalmente con il favore di Dio ci apparita larga strada per conseguire questo et maggior'cose, et non ci parrà fatica quello habbiamo trovato a caso mentre cercavamo di questo. Il fatto stava tra queste difficultà, che la tempera dello scalpello era troppo cruda o gagliarda, lo scalpello per il gran' colpo del mazzuolo saltava in pezzi, se dolce si torceva, et non segnava il Porfido; per questo ha da sempre durissima et nervosa che non ceda al colpo, et non se ne va in pezzi. Et di più i sughi et le acque ove si hanno a temperare hanno ad essere chiari et limpidi, perché se fusser torbidi, i colori che vengono dal fuoco non ci vedrebbero, però non si saprebbe il tempo di tuffarlo, dal quale dipende il tutto. Dunque i sughi chiari et ben' purgati mostrano il tempo della tempera. Si hanno da osservare i colori con gran diligenza, perchè mostrano il tempo del tuffarli e del cavarli. Et perché bisogna che il ferro durissimo et nervoso, però il colore sarà nel mezzo tra l'argento e l'oro, et apparendo questo tuffisi tutto il taglio dello scalpello nel liquore, et doppo pochissimo tempo sene cavi, et apparendo il colore della viola, tuffisi tutto di nuovo nel liquore, acciò mantenendosi il caldo nello scalpello non guasti di nuovo la tempera. Ancora si ha da avvertire con grandissima diligenza che i liquori ne i quali si tempera lo scalpello siano gelatissimi, perché se fussero caldi operarebbero manco, et dove hai spento il ferro una volta, non lo spegnere più, perchè essendo caldo, non farà opera alcuna, ma mettilo in altro liquore, non più adoperato et freddo, et sia diacciato quando l'adoperi. Nondimeno questa è la durissima tempera del ferro. Se tuffassi il ferro nello aceto stillato diverrà duro. Il medesimo accadrà se nell'orina distillata, per cagione del sale che ella contiene. Se lo tempererai in quella rugiada che troverai il mese di maggio sopra le foglie de i ceci diverrà durissimo, perchè è salsa più che non si può stimare, come cavando da Teofrasto habbiamo dimostrato altra volta. Lo aceto dove sia strutto il sale ammoniaco farà fortissima tempera, et se tempererai il ferro in quella acqua dentro la quale sarà strutto sale di orina et salnitro diventerà durissimo. Overo opererai meglio se farai polvere del salnitro, et del sale ammoniaco, et la chiuderai in vaso di vetro, che habbia il colo lungo, et lo tirrai sotto il litame, sino che si converta in acqua, eet in essa tuffarai il ferro affocato. In oltre il ferro diventerà ancora durissimo tuffato nel liquore di calcina viva, et di soda purgato con il pennello. Tutte questa cose sono buone, et conducono l'opera ad essequzione, ma queste che porrano sono tutte migliori. Piglia uno schiavo fuggitivo*[257] *già raccettato et di poi fatto grande, et chiudilo in un vaso di vetro sino si corrompa con acqua o con fuoco. Questo farà duro lo scalpello di maniera, che facilmente conseguirai il tuo desiderio, ma se per la troppo durezza diventasse fragile, aggiungi più liquore, et se manco, aggiungi più corpo, et fann[e] la prova tante volte che trovi la misura a punto. Perché così diventerà il ferro più duro et nervoso. Il medesimo si farà ancora col la spugna et corruzione del serpente Pitone, perchè il grasso darà il nervo et il sale la durezza. Et queste sono cose buone et le meglio che io habbia trovato in questo genere.*"
(See BNC di Firenze, Magl. XVI.103, Giovanbattista della Porta, *Libro XIII, della Magia*, ff. 3v-5v.)

[257] This is a bird.

6.
FRANCESCO DE' MEDICI (*c.* 1573)

Tempera per scalpellare il Porfido

"Recipe erba celidonia con le radici et ogni cosa, et squotila dalla terra, senza bagnarla, e di tutto insieme, benissimo pesta, ne farai un sugo, et in essa temperarai i ferri con i quali lavorerai il Porfido. L'acqua della sopra celidonia distillata ha la medesima virtù che il sugo di essa."
(See BNC di Firenze, Magl. XV.142, *Libro di Chirurgia di Giovanni Battista Nardi e Segreti Diversi*, f. 159r.)

7.
ANONIMOUS (1575–1600)

A fare una tempera per il Porfido

"Recipe ana oncia di sal armoniaco, sal nitro, ugna di bue arsa e filigine fatta nella catena di ferro. Pesta ogni cosa sottilmente, et quando vuoi temperare il ferro, rinvoltalo in detta polvere, et poi rinvolta in una pezza lina, et luta bene di sopra la pezza per tutto, et poi infoca et tempera, spegnendo in acqua di selce etc. Questa tempera è provata et miracolosa."
(See BNC di Firenze, N.A. 183, *Ricette, segreti et compositioni di varie cose*, f. 83r.)

8.
MARCO SETTIMANNI (1600–1625)

Tempera fortissima per temperar ferri chè siino forti per lavorare il Porfido

"Recipe delli vermi bene netti della terra, e li pesterai, cavandone il sugo. Poi piglia sugo di radice di raffano e sugo di barbe di porri, et siino parte equali, et mescola insieme, et con quello liquore tempera il ferro che tu vuoi adoperare, e sarà fortissimo per lavorare il Porfido."
(See BNV and La Marciana, ms. 5363, *Libro di Benvenuto di Lorenzo di Benvenuto de la Golpaia*, f. 76v.)

9.
ANTONIO PETRINI (1642)

Tempera per temperare l'acciaio nostrano per lavorare il Porfido.

"Si pigliarà acciaio chiericato fine, che sia ben caldo, poi rinvolgilo in polvere di smeriglio con creta. Poi mettilo a bollire, e poi fatto che haurai il ferro, l'involgerai di nuovo con polvere, come sopra, e lascialo infocare, e poi smorzalo dentro all'acqua di cipolla lambiccata, che haurai tempera per il Porfido..."
(See BNC di Firenze, Magl. XIX.16, *Arte fabrile overo armeria universale*, nuova numerazione f. 10r.)

Appendix III

1.
Letter from Cardinale Del Monte to Signor Emilio de' Cavalieri, of Florence, Rome, 15 March 1596

"Molto Illustre Signore. Se io non ho scritto a Vostra Signoria la posta passata, sarà proceduto dal non haver cosa da scrivere. Hora ho trattato con il scalpellino che lavora il Porfido, il quale si parte malissimo volentieri di qua, poiché guadagna ciò che vuole. Ha di provision ferma dalli frati di San Paiolo [fuori le Mura] scudi venti il mese, casa pagata et spese per lui, la moglie, una figlia et un garzone, et si contentano che lavori anche molte cose per altri, et mi diece che un giorno per l'altro in spaccar solo graniti, oltre che le cose de' frati, guadagna uno scudo il giorno. Hora le son stato tanto attorno con Silla scultore [Silla Longhi] con queste condizioni. Prima, vuole esser condotto a Fiorenza con la moglie e una puttina di due anni et un garzone, a spese del Gran Duca. In Fiorenza poi vuole la cosa di bando, dove possa lavorare ché nessuno lo veda. Di più, che Sua Altezza lo provveda di ferro per fare i scalpelli, et carbone et mantici per accomodarli a suo modo, et finalmente tre [...] il mese, et che esso da sé faccia le spese alla moglie, al garzone et alla putta, senza che Sua Altezza pensi in altro. Di più vuole che se Sua Altezza non se ne volesse servire, l'habbia a far ricondurre qua a sue spese: et questo è quanto se n'è potuto cavare. Mi ha detto che haverebbe caro che innanzi che venisse Sua Altezza li facesse fare qualche cosa in piccolo, come una tavola piena di lettere overo un'arme o profili o una tazza, et in piccolo intendo da un mezzo braccio sino a tra braccia, acciò Sua Altezza possa vedere l'opere di questo huomo prima che lo piglia. Gli ho domandato se troveremo dei porfidi assai da poter lavorare; mi ha risposto che se Sua Altezza volesse coprire tutta Fiorenza de' porfidi, che gli basta l'animo di trovarli, et mi ha detto che io veda in ogni modo di buscare due colonne grandissime che ha il Cardinale Ascanio [Colonna], il quale non le stima, et sono le più bella cosa che sia in Europa, et che lui le ridurrebbe a tutta perfezione. Io non mancherò d'attendervi con la destrezza et sotto mano per non mettere il Cardinale in vitio, et il negotio in riputatione. Né havendo che altro dirle, la saluto al solito di tutto cuore. Di Roma, li 15 di marzo 1596.
Di Vostra Signoria Molto Illustre,
Come fratello obbedientissimo,
Il Cardinale Del Monte."
(See Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MdP 3760, ff. 249rv–254r.)

2.
Letter from Giovanni Niccolini, Tuscan ambassador to Rome, to Belisario Vinta,[258] Rome, 28 March 1596

"[...] *Quando il Signor Cardinale Del Monte mi dirà di voler inviare a cotesta volta lo scalpellino che lavora il Porfido, non lascierò di darli quel che parrà conveniente per il viaggio, così per lui come la moglie et figliola, con farli anche dar' la lettiga che verrà di ritorno con la levatrice, et di tutto darò avviso a mio tempo*
[...]"
(See Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MdP 3312.)

3.
Letter from Cardinal Del Monte to Grand Duke Ferdinand de' Medici, Rome, 29 March 1596

"[...] *Quel scarpellino che lavorava il Porfido è obbligato a' frati di San Paolo per istromento, come io scrissi al Signor Emilio, et quando ho trattato seco, sempre si è riserbata questa conditione, che io le facessi havere licenza da' frati di San Paolo. Hieri io feci chiamare l'abbate di San Paolo in casa di Montalto, loro protettore, et così ambedui ci mettessimo intorno al Padre, et per molto che lo combattessimo con l'autorità di Vostra Altezza, altro non se ne puote cavare che questo, che Nostro Signore con tutta la visita gli hanno ordinati alcuni altari, dandoli la forma che siano finiti per l'anno santo, et in questi altari vi vanno otto colonne di Porfido di una grandezza, et che non vi è nessuno se non quest'huomo che le possa rappezzare, lustrare et lavorare, et come habbi finito queste otto colonne, che le darà licenza che venghi a servire Vostra Altezza. Questo frate si chiama l'abbate Stella, Bresciano overo Bergamasco. Fatto Pasqua, se ne va al capitolo generale a Mantoa. Dice voler passare per costà a far riverenza a Vostra Altezza, facendo professione di suo servitore particolare, et all'hora Vostra Altezza in voce potrebbe astringerlo; altrimenti non saprei per hora che altro partito pigliare. Se Vostra Altezza vorrà farli fare qualche cosa qua, egli mi si è offerto,* [...]"
(See Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MdP 3760, ff. 260v-261r.)

4.
Letter from Cardinal Del Monte to Grand Duke Ferdinand de' Medici, Rome, 19 April 1596

"[...] *Abbate Stella di San Paolo partì di qua lunedì per il capirolo generale per Mantoa. Credo che si abboccherà con Vostra Altezza, et a lui sta il disporre dello scarpellino del Porfido, poiché li frati l'hanno subornato et voltatoli il cervello; ma il tutto dipende da questo Stella* [...]"
(See Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MdP 3760, f. 265r.)

[258] Secretary of State of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

The Quarries

The Imperial Red Porphyry quarries are located in the Eastern Desert in Egypt. This is the desert situated between the Nile and the Red Sea (fig. 53).
In ancient times, the area between the large bight where the Nile bears east at Luxor (Thebes) and the Red Sea was called the Thebaid and it corresponds to the vast expanse of ancient quarries of the most beautiful marble that was exploited in Egypt from the Predynastic period.
The Porphyry extraction site is found on a massif that the Romans called Mons Porphyrites or Igneus Mons; today this mountain is known as Gebel Abu Dukhan (1660 metres), Arabic for "smoking mountain". It is a few kilometres from the main peak of the region, Gebel Qattar (1965 metres), lies approximately fifty kilometres from the ancient port of Myos Hormos, north of Hurghada on the Red Sea, and is 150 kilometres from the ancient city of Koptos (Qena) on the Nile. The geographical coordinates of the main quarry, Lykabettos, are: 27°14'29" N; 33°16'51" E.
The whole area of quarries is situated in what today is called the "Qena Quadrangle" and forms part of the territory of the autochthonous Bedouin tribe, Ma'aza, and, in particular, the Kushmaan families (figs. 54-55).
The type of Porphyry that the Romans quarried in this area was called "Porphyrites" and this term is specific to the Imperial Red Porphyry. Only later was the term "Porphyry" used to identify the different varieties and colours of Porphyry. This rock possesses special qualities that has made it unique not only in the past, but also from the moment in modern times when geologists felt it necessary to give a special "denomination of origin" to the rock formations of the area, calling them "Dokhan Volcanics", clearly for their structure and chemistry, which makes them unique of their type (fig. 59).
The Roman Empire possessed various territories with Porphyry quarries even before the conquest of Egypt that were able to provide this material in its various shades of red: suffice to mention the Porphyry from Bolzano and the rest of the Alps or the porphyries of the Pyrenees, all much closer than those found in far-off Egypt.
Nevertheless, for its qualities of hardness and sheen, for the large size of extractable blocks, but above all, for its regal purple-red colour, the Thebaid Porphyry drove the Roman Empire to expend enormous amounts of energy to obtain it. The Empire went so far as to declare the Porphyrites mountain range a site and a material that were the exclusive property and prerogative of the emperor.

FIG. 53. MAP OF THE EGYPTIAN EASTERN DESERT, THE THEBAID.

At this point, for a complete understanding of the archaeological site of the quarries, it is useful to include some conclusive excerpts of the most recent surveys and excavation work conducted by the mission of the Egypt Exploration Society between 1994 and 1998, which was published in England in 2007 by Peacock and Maxfield (fig. 60).

THE CHRONOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMPLEX

"The exploitation of the quarries at Mons Porphyrites spanned a period of four centuries, from the second decade of the first century AD into at least the first quarter of the fifth century. Over this time a total of six separate quarry locations was exploited, each consisting of between two and twelve individual quarry sites, some of these, particularly in the North-West quarries, of a considerable size and complexity. A small fort (originally about 0.25 hectares in area internally, enlarged to 0.38 hectares) was established at the heart of the complex in Wadi Abu Ma'amel to house the central administration and the soldiers who protected the venture; seven quarry villages, as well as a scattering of isolated huts, were built to house the workers. Temples and shrines were provided. A complex supporting infrastructure of roads, slipways, ramps, marker cairns, watchtowers and animal lines facilitated movement around and between the quarries and outwards towards the road to the Nile Valley via the fort at Badia. The whole complex eventually extended over an area some twelve square kilometres. The pattern and intensity of occupation and exploitation across this area fluctuated over the four centuries of use, and there was a period of virtual, if not total, abandonment in the third century (figs. 56-58).

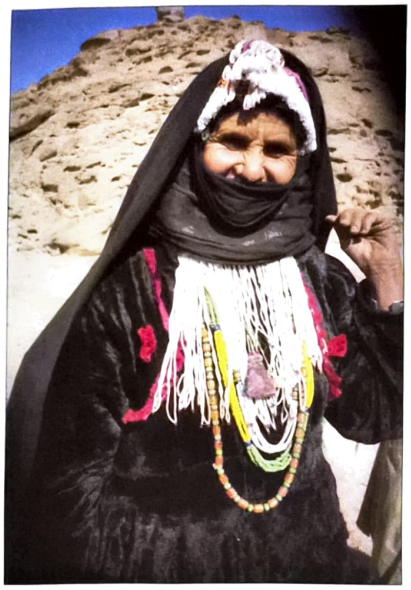


Fig. 54. Kushmaan tribe. A Beduin woman living in the Qena Quadrangle.

Fig. 55. The author exchanging some beads in 1988 with the cousins of Sheikh Abdel Zaher of the Kushmaan tribe and his son Salama (far right).

Fig. 56. Paleo bed of Wadi El Atrash on which are still visible the tracks of the Roman carriages.

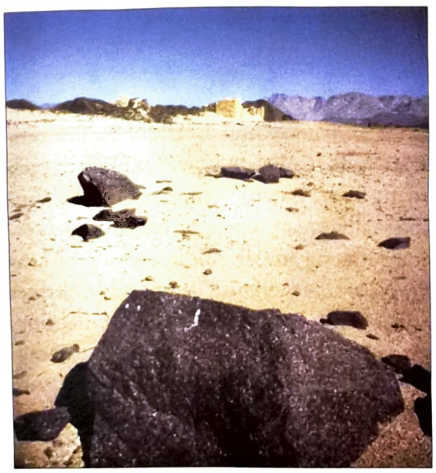


Fig. 57. Blocks of Porphyry abandoned during transportation, next to the Fort of Wadi El Atrash (in the background).

Fig. 58. Loading ramp at the entrance of Wadi Umm Sidri.

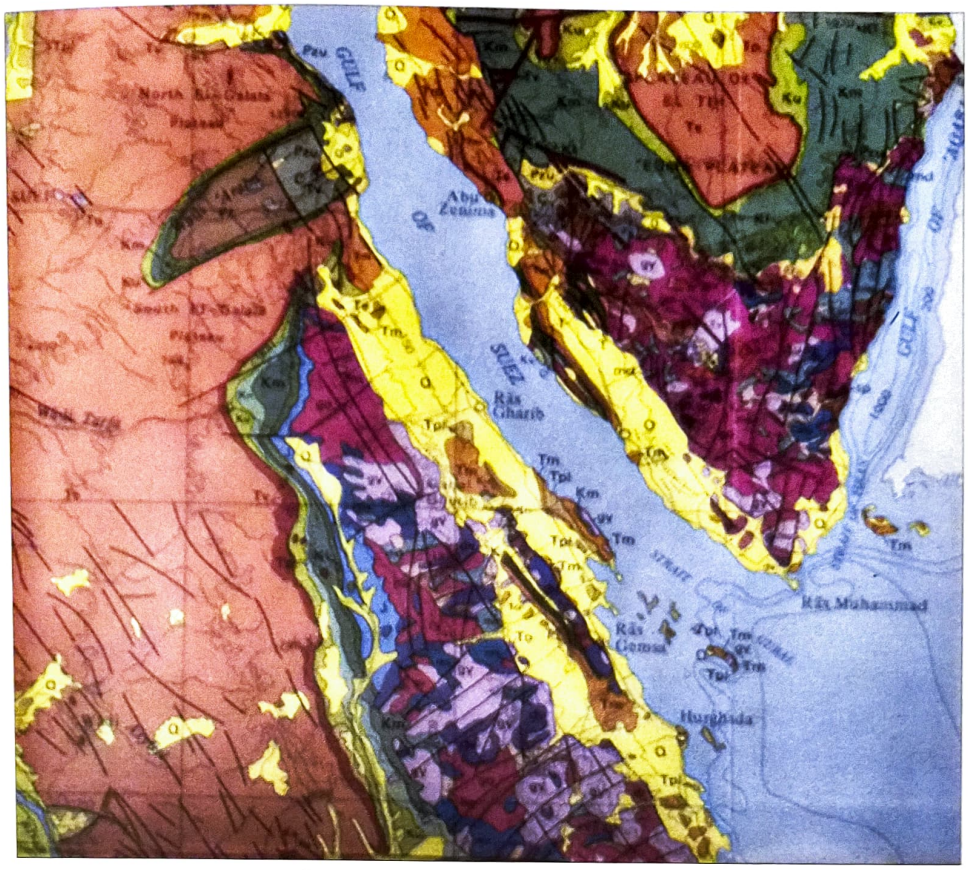


FIG. 59. GEOLOGICAL MAP OF THE EASTERN DESERT (DOKHAN VOLCANICS) AND SINAI.

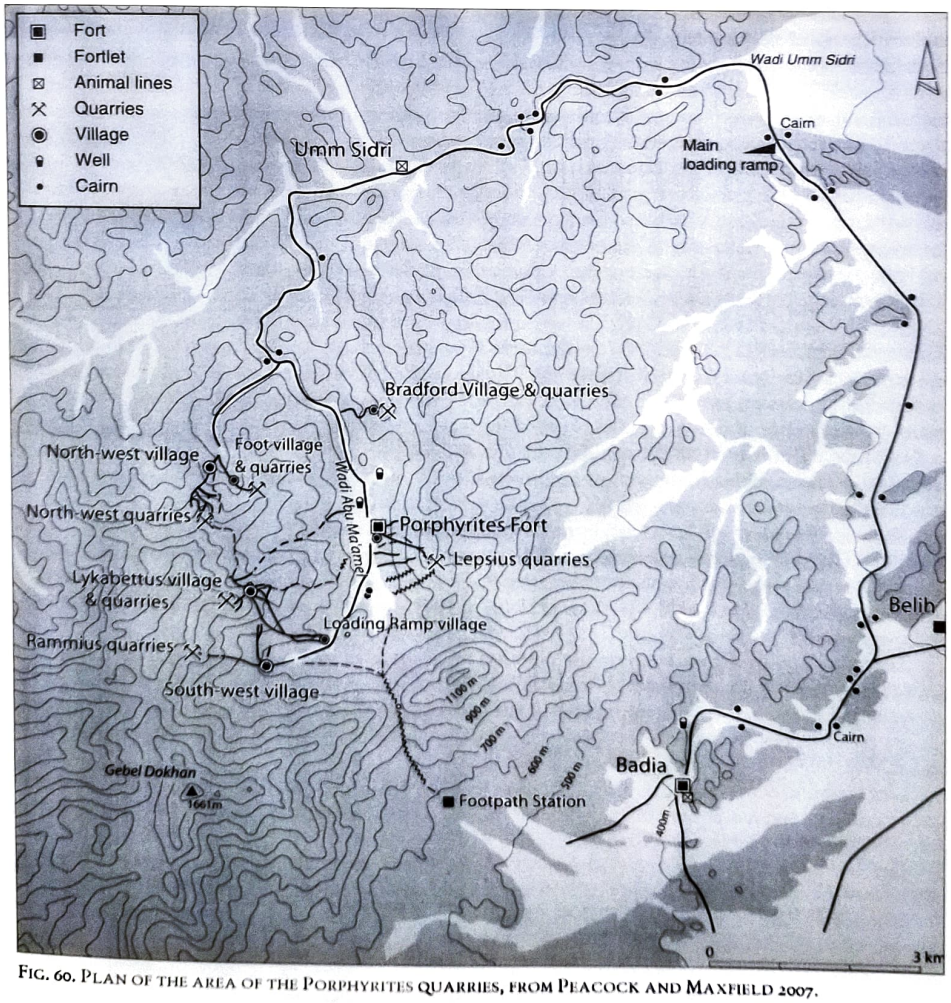


FIG. 60. PLAN OF THE AREA OF THE PORPHYRITES QUARRIES, FROM PEACOCK AND MAXFIELD 2007.

Fig. 61. Part of the paved road in Wadi Abu Ma'amel, at the bottom of Lykabettos ramp (photo before the flood of 1996).

Fig. 62. Part of the paved road in Wadi Abu Ma'amel, at the bottom of Lykabettos ramp (photo before the flood of 1996).

Fig. 63. Wadi Abu Ma'amel, start of the ramp to the Lykabettos quarries.

Fig. 64. Half way up the ramp to Lykabettos, at the level of the village.

The early to mid first century (Tiberius to Nero)

THE SITE. Archaeologically speaking, there is nothing on the site that predates the Leugas inscription of AD 18 which records the discovery of the Porphyry stone. The Bradford and Foot villages have produced the earliest dating evidence, with the ceramic material from both being consistent with the Tiberian date of the inscription. Both appear to be confined to the early to mid first century. Both quarry complexes are small (each consists of just two quarries) and the associated villages are simple affairs with none of the multi-phase development that characterises the other quarry villages. The Porphyry quarried from these two complexes is predominantly black or greenish black; Bradford (with its epigraphic reference to both purple and black Porphyry) exclusively so, whereas Foot is part purple, part greenish black. Though black was the rarer commodity, it was in fact the red/purple stone for which the complex became most famous - and it is this colour which predominates in the areas subsequently opened up.

One final part of the complex which may also date back to this early phase is the South-West village. Lying well to the south, at the very head of Wadi Abu Ma'amel, this village is completely separate from the other demonstrably earlier elements. While the bulk of material from this site dates from the later first to the mid second century, Tomber has drawn attention to a small group of material comparable to that from the Bradford and Foot villages, which might suggest foundation in the early to mid first century. No excavation has been undertaken here, but analysis of the buildings suggests that the village evolved gradually, almost doubling in size during its lifetime. Such growth would be more readily accommodated within the longer time span provided by a Julio-Claudian foundation date.

The quarries most closely associated with the South-West village are the Rammius quarries, though a route also leads from here to the Lykabettos group. The latter, however, are more readily accessed from further down the wadi, so the probability is that the Rammius quarries were the early objective. Interestingly they, like the Bradford and Foot ventures, were very small in scale. A zigzag path, straight and cairned at its lower end, was built from the village up to the quarry site, but very little material appears to have been extracted. The intensity of occupation at the South-West village far exceeds that at the quarries, and it is probable therefore that it, while founded in association with Rammius, subsequently went on to function in association with Lykabettos (figs. 61-64).

The later first to mid second centuries

THE SITE. In the later first century the complex grew very considerably, its main residential focus spreading southwards, deep into Wadi Abu Ma'amel. Within the period of the later first to the early second century the fort was established. No primary, *in situ* deposits were reached within the fort itself and the deposition of the *sebakhs* was deemed, on the basis of the pottery, to be very largely mid second century and later. However, a document dated to AD 128 was found in the north *sebakh* . Two Flavian coins - one probably of Vespasian, one of Domitian - were retrieved from trench IV within the fort and the north *sebakh* respectively. A Trajanic inscription (dating to AD 28 January 113) from the Isis temple immediately to the south of the fort and an early Hadrianic one (dating to AD 117-119) from the Serapis temple provide a clear *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of the central complex, while the small quantity of surface material from the workers' village adjacent to the fort (where no excavation took place) suggests a similar date.

The fort probably served as the administrative centre for the Porphyrites complex as a whole, and the settlement outside it grew. Two further temples were added and officialdom is attested. The dedication on the Serapis Temple, dated to 117-119, names the same *procurator metallorum* (Ulpius Chresismus) and quarry contractor (Epaphraditos Sigerianos) as appear in 118 at Mons Claudianus, while a procurator (Anokanus) is named on the Isis Myrionomos dedication of 137-138. The army too is present now, if not before. A detachment of the *Ala Vocontiorum* (a cavalry unit) was under the command of the Decurion who dedicated the Isis Temple in 113 (*I. Pan* 20 = *AE* 1936, 60 = *SB* I 4383), while a centurion (an infantry commander) is named on the Serapis inscription, another on the Isis Myrionomos text (figs. 65-68).

The mid to later third century

THE SITE. The Porphyry quarries, so closely identified with the emperors and imperial fortune, suffered a decline during the period of crisis in the third century when imperial control over the East was loosened. The brief loss of Egypt to the Palmyrenes in the early 270s would effectively have put a stop to the processes of extraction and trans-desert transport until the defeat of Zenobia and Vaballathus by Aurelian in 272.

Fig. 65. View of the ramp from above.

Fig. 66. View of Lykabettos village and ramp.

Fig. 68. Wadi Abu Ma'amel, remains of the Temple of Serapis, AD 117-119.

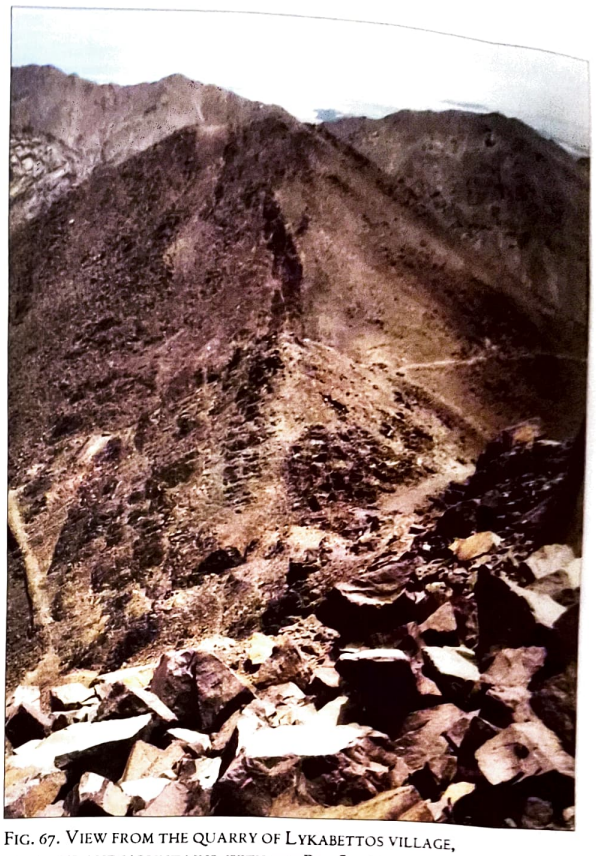


Fig. 67. View from the quarry of Lykabettos village, the ramp and mountains, with the Red Sea in the background.

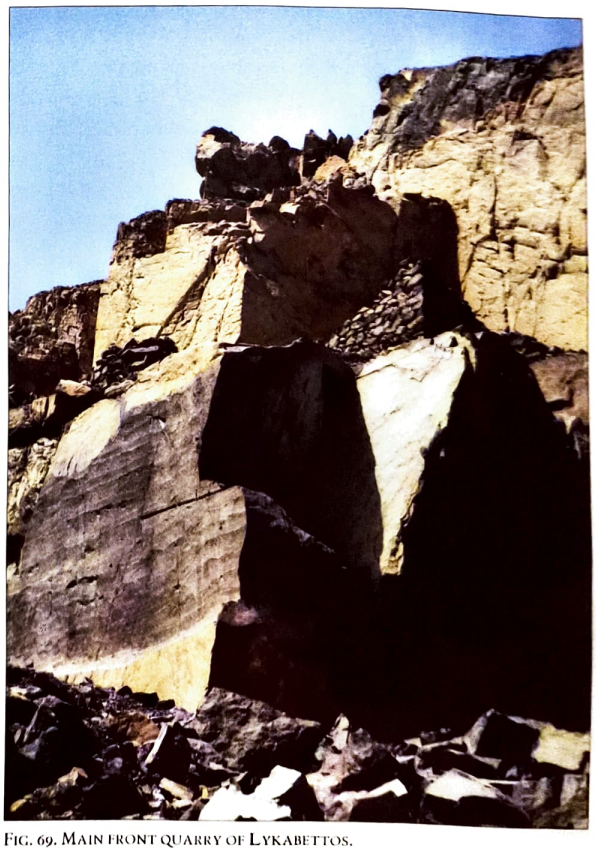


Fig. 69. Main front quarry of Lykabettos.

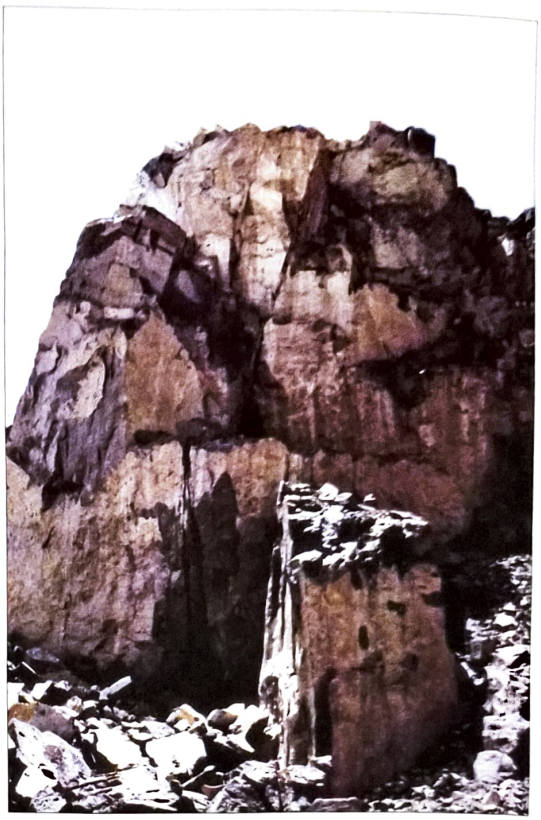


FIG. 70. HUGE SQUARE BLOCK OF PORPHYRY, ALMOST FINISHED TO BE QUARRIED, ABANDONED (BECAUSE CRACKED) IN THE SOUTH PART OF THE LYKABETTOS QUARRIES. THE SIZE OF THE BLOCK (C. L 350 X W 230 X H 180 CM) MAKES IT SUITABLE FOR A BIG SARCOPHAGUS, SUCH AS THOSE PRESERVED IN ISTANBUL; FIG. 71. NORTH FRONT OF THE LYKABETTOS QUARRIES.

The fourth and fifth centuries

THE SITE. The major foci of activity in the final phase lay at the southern end of the site, and consisted of the Lykabettos area and, across the mountain to the south-east, the Badia complex. Both of these areas produced substantial assemblages of late material, with the pottery from the fort and rubbish dump at Badia including ceramic vessels and lamps indicative of activity extending into the first half of the fifth century. Eight of the eleven coins from the site (four antiquarian finds in addition to the material from the current excavations) belong to the fourth century. Small-scale trenching in Lykabettos village produced no fewer than five fourth-century coins, to which can be added a surface find from the base of the Lykabettos loading ramp (Tregenza, p. 123). The Loading Ramp village would appear to belong to this phase.

The apparent contradiction between ceramic and numismatic evidence (and the evidence also for the continuing exploitation of the Porphyry) might be explained if there had been a change in the administrative and economic organisation of the site - if, for example, the workers came to be paid in kind rather than in coin. Such documentary evidence as there is from the site offers no enlightenment on this point. It concentrates, instead, in the early period (largely Antonine) rather than the late and points to the presence of workers paid in coin, as was also the case of the better-documented quarry site at Mons Claudianus (figs. 69-71).

The abandonment of the quarry complex and the recycling of the Porphyry

THE SITE. Quarrying clearly came to an end by the middle of the fifth century AD. There is no evidence - ceramic, numismatic, epigraphic or literary - to suggest any later exploitation - not that is until a brief flurry of work, British and Italian, in the 1930s and the acquisition, in the later twentieth century, of a small quantity of natural boulders for the sculptor Stephen Cox. Even Badia, a link in the chain of posts that ran between the Nile and the Red Sea, shows no evidence of later activity, despite the fact that the site of Abu Sha'ar, the Red Sea terminus of the Nile route, was occupied and active into the seventh century.

For some considerable time after the quarry working was given up, the Porphyrites area became the haunt of Christian hermits. Christians had, of course, been present on the site prior to this, employed as workers. In addition to the Christian convicts discussed below, there is the evidence of the tombstone of John of Nilos from the necropolis outside Lykabettos village and the cross thickly drawn, in red paint, on one of the pillars of the south well. The Christian sculptors of the *Passio Sanctorum Quattuor Coronatorum* can now be accepted as working in the Diocletianic period at the Porphyry quarries in Egypt rather than those in Pan-

FIG. 72. ROCK GRAFFITI OF A RAM (OR WILD SHEEP) ON THE LYKABETTOS QUARRY FRONT (TODAY LOST OR STOLEN).

FIG. 73. LYKABETTOS QUARRY. SIGNATURE OF ENGINEER ALFI, INCISED IN 1932 DURING A SURVEY TO QUARRY PORPHYRY MARBLE FOR KING FU'AD I, TO BE USED IN A BUILDING IN ALEXANDRIA.

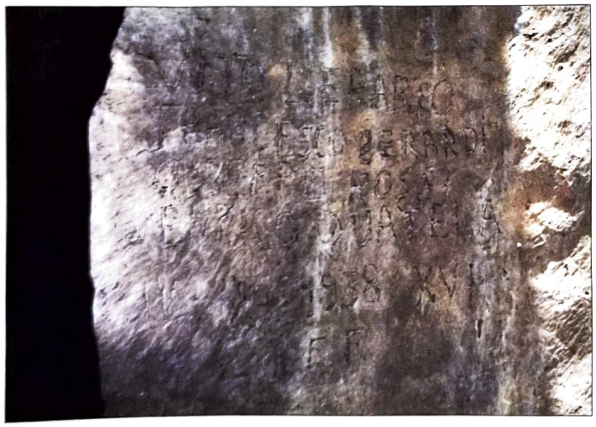


FIG. 74. LYKABETTOS QUARRY. SIGNATURES OF ITALIAN ALPINE SOLDIERS SENT BY MUSSOLINI IN 1938 TO SURVEY THE POSSIBILITY OF QUARRYING PORPHYRY AGAIN. NO EGYPTIAN PORPHYRY WAS QUARRIED BY ITALIANS IN MODERN TIMES.

nonia. Further, Palladius refers to anchorites resident in the later fourth century at the "Porphyry Mountain" and "Porphyrite". Meredith suggested that the reference is actually not to the immediate area of Mons Porphyrites but to the small settlement above Bir Nagat, at the head of Wadi Qattar, some eighteen kilometres distant, where there is a small church with a foundation inscription of AD 340 together with a scattering of huts and a natural cave with a man-made doorway, all close to a permanent pool (Bir Nagat). While Bir Nagat lies some distance from the Porphyry quarries, it is not impossible that their well-known name would be used as a convenient, if imprecise, locator. Over a century later (in about AD 620), a Christian traveller is recorded as visiting two hermits in the area of "Porphyrites". Again, the question arises as to whether the quarry complex is intended, or the area of Wadi Qattar.

There is, within the Mons Porphyrites complex, no clear collection of huts comparable to that of the postulated early monastic settlement and tower of Mons Claudianus. There are, however, several small isolated huts or groups of huts not obviously related to the Roman use of the site. Some lie in Wadi Abu Ma'amel by the north and south wells, others by the mouth of Wadi Umm Sidri near the loading ramp, and others around the Badia complex.

All are entirely undated, beyond the fact that some overlie or are appended to the Roman structures. A post-Roman (Christian) origin is possible but speculative (figs. 72-74).

THE POPULATION OF MONS PORPHYRITES

Quarry workers

It is commonly supposed that the quarry workers at Mons Porphyrites were convicts - *damnati ad metalla* (condemned to the mines). There are three specific pieces of evidence for this. The first comes from Aelius Aristides, who visited Egypt in AD 142, and who refers to convict labour at the Porphyry quarries. Just over a century and a half later Eusebius recorded the presence of ninety-seven Christian convicts in the *Passio Sanctorum Quattuor Coronatorum* who were also at work in the Porphyry quarries. However, the condemnation of Christians to the mines would presumably have ceased soon thereafter with the conversion of Constantine. A third, but highly speculative, piece of evidence has also been adduced - an iron shackle recorded as having being found in Wadi Nagat. The shackle is of a common Roman type and is undatable. Del Bufalo (in *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, p. 514, no. 265) sought to explain its presence at Nagat as the result of a Christian convict having fled there from Mons Porphyrites. The settlement with its church (dated to the early 340s) and nearby huts is seen as the haunt of Christian anchorites. The fact that the one date we have for the settlement (that of the church) post-dates the period when Christian convicts are likely to have been found at Porphyrites throws doubt on this scenario. This is not, however, to exclude the possibility that convicts more generally (whether Christian or not) might conceivably have been at Porphyrites. The absence of coinage in the later fourth to early fifth century when the pottery suggests a period of intense activity might point to workers who were not being paid, of whom convicts are one obvious category. Returning to the earlier period, Aristides's testimony on the matter of convicts is broadly contemporary with that of the bulk of the *ostraca* which, however, give no hint whatever of the use of convict labour. On the contrary, the *entolae* record payments to free workers. By their very nature, pay documents are going to attest on-

ly those who were paid, but one might still anticipate some documentation of any unfree, unpaid element within the workforce. Likewise, the lists of personnel make no reference to *damnati ad metalla*. Admittedly, the total number of documents at Mons Porphyrites is relatively small and therefore not conclusive, but that from the sister site of Mons Claudianus is very large - nearly 10,000 - and these, too, attest to only free, paid workers in the second century, the date to which the vast majority belong.

Tools and equipment associated with quarry working were totally lacking from the artefactual assemblage retrieved from the excavations. While evidence for the fabrication of stone artefacts in and around the Porphyrites fort is eloquent of the presence of stoneworkers away from the quarries, the meagre metal assemblage contained no stone-working tools (as was also the case at Mons Claudianus). However the purchase of tools connected with work in the quarries does form the subject matter of several of the letters."

Saint Cyprian talks about the Christian confessors condemned in quarries:

> They also put fetters on your ankles... [The Martyrs] stretched out to sleep on the ground, tired to the bone by their labours... In the absence of baths, their limbs were filthy, unsightly with dirt and squalor. Little bread was provided, and they lacked clothing to stay warm. Their hair was unevenly cut and unkempt.
> Saint Cyprian, *Letter* 77.2.4

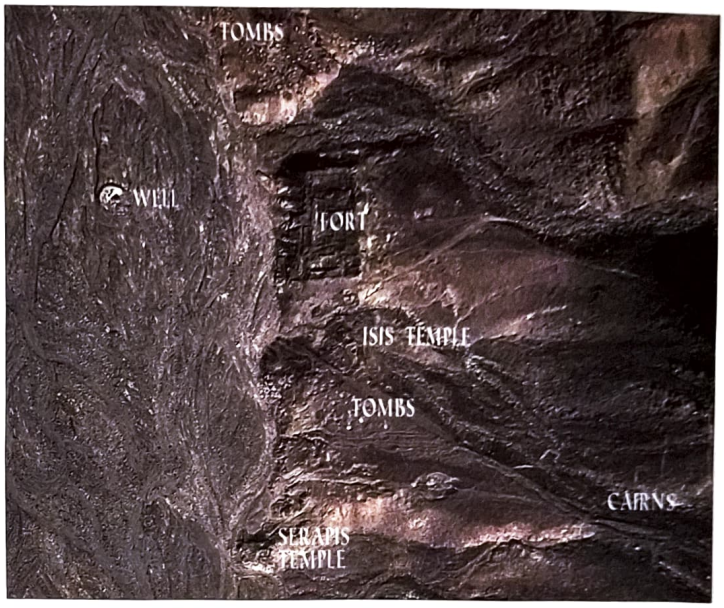


FIG. 75. SATELLITE PICTURE OF THE FORT AREA AND SERAPIS TEMPLE IN WADI ABU MA'AMEL.

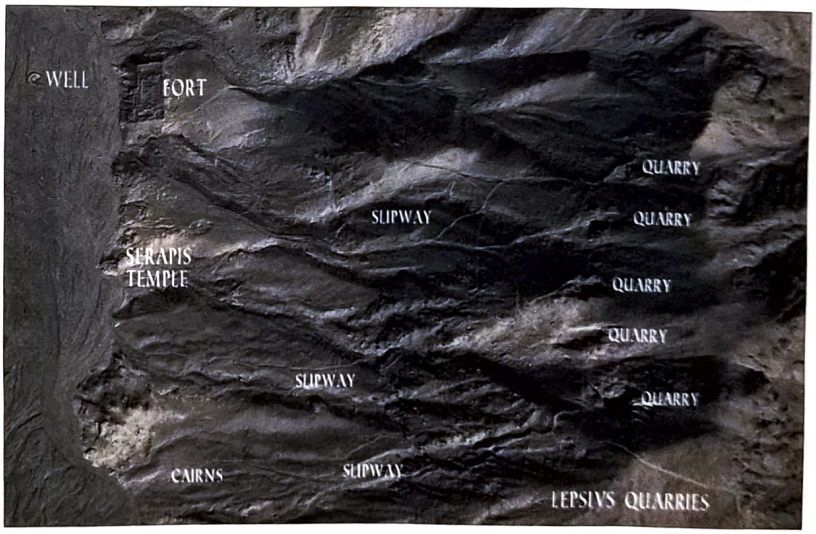


FIG. 76. SATELLITE PICTURE OF THE LEPSIUS QUARRIES.

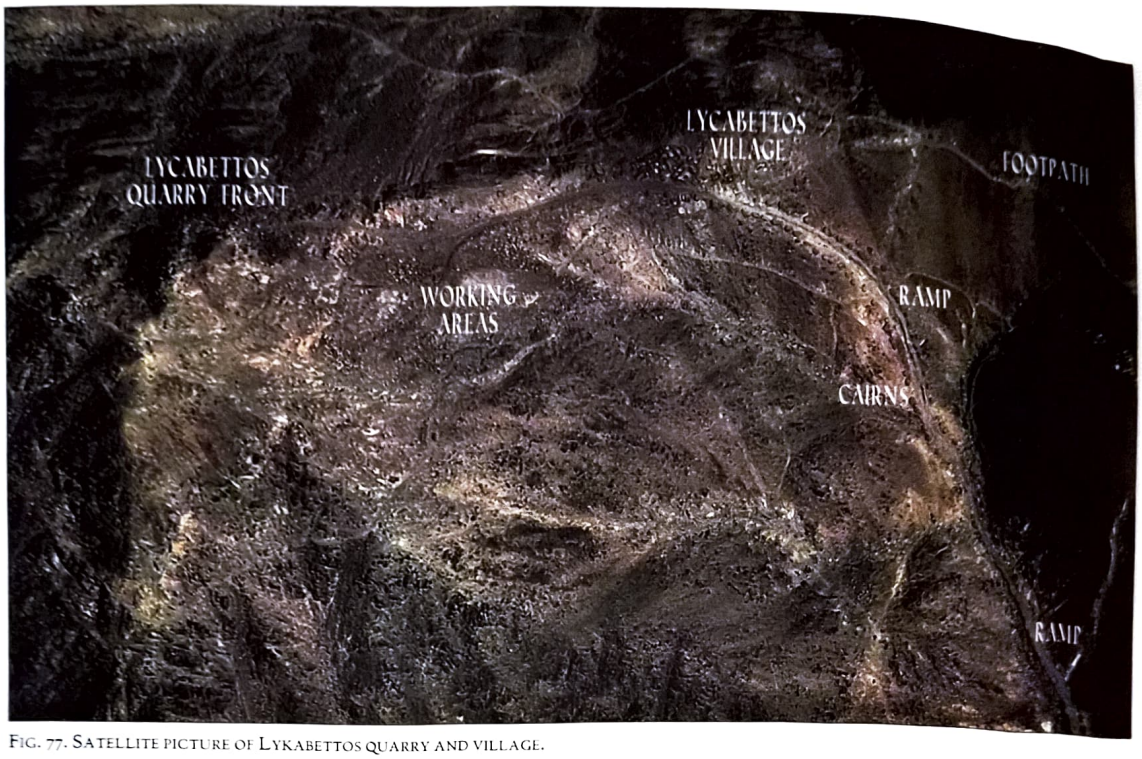


FIG. 77. SATELLITE PICTURE OF LYKABETTOS QUARRY AND VILLAGE.

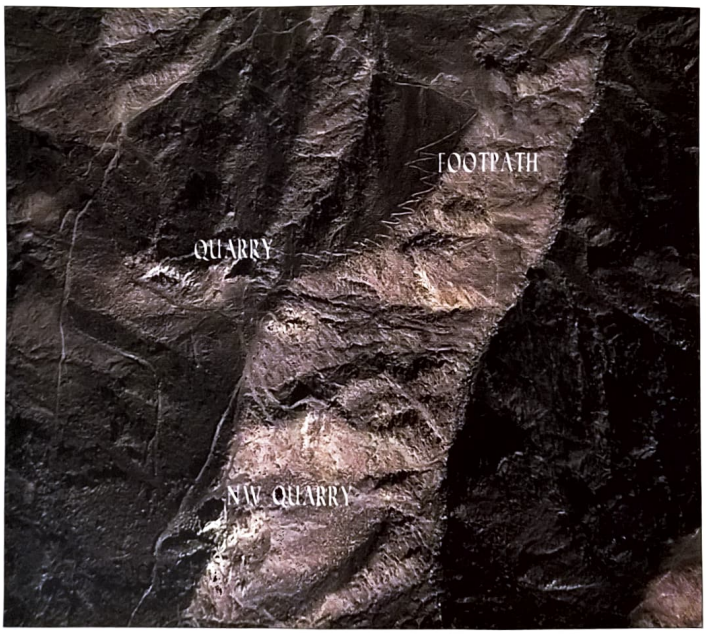


FIG. 78. SATELLITE PICTURE OF THE NORTH-WEST QUARRIES.

Passio SS. Qvattvor Coronatorvm Avctore Porphyrio

Incipit passio sanctorum Simproniani, Claudii, Nicostrati, Castorii et Simplicii

1. Tempore quo Dioclitianus perrexit Pannonii ad metalla diversa sua praesentia de montibus abscidenda, factum est dum omnes artifices metalli congregaret, invenit inter eos magnae peritia artis inbutos homines nomine Claudium, Castorium, Simpronianum et Nicostratum, mirificos in arte quadrataria. Hii oculte christiani erant, custodientes mandata Dei, et quidquid artis operabantur in sculptura, in nomine domini Iesu Christi sculpebant. Ventum est quodam die inperante Dioclitiano, ut simulacrum Solis cum quadriga ex lapide taso artifices cum omni argumento currum, equos vel omnia ex uno lapide sculpirent. Eodem tempore omues artifices cum phylosophis cogitare coeperunt artis huius delimare sermonem. Et cum incidissent lapidem magnum ex metallo taso, non conveniebat ars sculpturae secundum praeceptum augusti Dioclitiani, et multis diebus erat contentio inter artifices et phylosophos.

2. Quodam die convenerunt omnes artifices sexcenti viginti duo cum phylosofis quinque ad textum lapidis et coeperunt venas lapidis perquirere, et erat mira intentio inter artifices et phylosofos. Eodem tempore Simproianus confidens in fidem quam tenebat, dixit ad coartifices: Rogo vos omnes, date mihi fiduciam et ego invenio cum condiscipulos meos Claudium, Simplicium Nicostratum, et Castorium. Et quaerens venam metalli coepit sculpire in nomine domini Iesu Christi artem, et bene consequebatur sculptura; et secundum praeceptum augusti facta est sculptura sigilli Solis in pedibus viginti quinque.

3. Hoc autem nuntiatum est Dioclitiano augusto et laetificatus est. Eadem hora ibidem in partis Pannoniae praecepit aedificare templum in loco qui appellatur ad montem pinguem. Et ibidem constituit et posuit simulacrum, et deauravit. Et coepit in eudem loco sacrificiis et unguentis et odoribus laetare, et dedit dona magna artficibus. Eodem tempore dileclatus in artem nimio amore captus praecepit ut ex metallo porfiritico columnas vel capitella columnarum ab artificibus inciderentur. Et vocavit ad se Claudium, Simpronianum, Nicostratum et Castorium et Simplicium; quos cum gaudio suscipiens dixit ad eos: Desidero peritiam artis vestre capitella columnarum ex monte porfyritico incidi.

4. Et ex praecepto abierunt cum moltitudine artificum et phylosofis. Venientibus autem ad montem porfyreticum qui dicitur igneus, coeperunt incidere lapidem in pedibus XL. Claudius autem omnia in nomine domini Iesu Christi faciebat. Et bene sequebatur eum ars. Simplicius autem, qui erat gentilis, omnia quaecumque faciebat non erat convenientia. Quodam die dixit ad Simplicium Nicostratus: Frater, quomodo tibi ferramentum tuum confrangitur? Dixit Simplicius: Rogo te, tempera mihi, ut non confrangatur. Respondit Claudius et dixit: Da mihi omnem ingenium artis. Et dum dedisset omnem sculpturam ferri, dixit Claudius: In nomine domini Iesu Christi, sit hoc ferrum forte et sanum ad facienda opera. Et ab eadem ora coepit Simplicius omnem artem quadratariam cum ferramenta sua, sicut Simpronianus bene et recte operare. Tunc Simplicius miro amore et studio coepit inquirere a Simproniano quod esset genus temperamenti, quia numquam frangebantur
argumenta ferramentorum, quod ante non ita erant. Dicit ei Simpronianus una cum Claudio: Ergo, frater, miraris in temperatione ferramentorum? Creator qui est omnium, ipse facturam suam confortavit. Respondit Simplicius ad Simpronianum: Numquid deus Iovis ipse non fecit omnia haec? Respondit Claudius: Frater, age penitentiam, quia blasphemasti, nesciens quid loquaris. Deus quem nos confitemur, ipse omia creavit, et Iesus Christus filius eius dominus noster, et Spiritus sanctus. Nam quem tu dicis deum, quare non cognoscis quia ex nostris manibus sculpitur? Nescis quia et solem, quem nos per sculptura artis fecimus, et ipsud nichil est?

5. Eadem die, ipsis altercantibus, iussit; Dioclitianus augustus ex metallo porfyritico concas sigillis ornatas cavari. Tunc Simpronianus, Claudius, Castorius et Nicostratus coeperunt in nomine Christi cavare concas et lacus cum sigillis et cantharis cum magna tenuitate artis.

6. Simplicius vero quidquid in artem misisset manum confrangebatur. Tunc dixit ad Simpronianum: Adiuro te per deum Solem ut dicas mihi, quis est iste deus qui omnia creavit, in cuius nomine vos artem bene operamini. Respondens Claudius ad Simplicium dixit: Placitum est in sensu et visu oculorum tuorum quae nos facimus? Respondit Simplicius et dixit: Video nescio quam praecationem quam occulte praecatis; declarate mini hanc praecationem dei vestri, ut et me vobiscum fruamini amicitiam. Dicit ei Claudius: Et est in te pura amicitia? Respondit Simplicius; Vere pura, nam et vos cognovistis ecce intra quindecim annos qualiter vobiscum operatus sum. Dicit ei Simpronianus: Si potes credere, dicimus tibi, et artem consequeris, et vitam aeternam habebit. Respondit Simplicius: Desiderio meo desideravi scire deum vestrum et supplico vobis.
Dicit ei Claudius: Ecce hoc est quod dicimus tibi fideliter, ut credas dominus Iesum Christum Dei filium et baptismum percipias et omnia ministrabatur tibi. Respondit Simplicius: Ergo nolite tardare, ut vobiscum unianimi sim et in arte et in religione. Et coeperunt quaerere sacerdotem. Et invenerunt episcopum in custodia carceris religatur, nomine Quirillum, de Antiochia ad-

ductum, pro Christi nomine vinctum, qui iam multis verberibus fuerat maceratus in tribus annis. Ad quem venientes noctu Simpronianus, Claudius, Nicostratus et Castorius una cum Simplicio, quem invenerunt in catenis constrictum cum aliis multis confessoribus. Et ingressi ad sanctum Quirillum miserunt se ad pedes eius et rogaverunt eum at baptizaret Simplicium. Cumque hoc audisset beatus Quirillus, gaudio repletus dixit ad Simplicium: Fili, vide si ex toto corde credis, et omnia ministrabuntur tibi.

7. Et respondentes Claudius, Simpronianus, Nicostratus et Castorius dixerunt sancto Quirillo rem gestam de ferramentis quid obvenisset. Et tunc sanctus Quirillus gratias agens Deo omnipotenti, dixit ad Simplicium: Fili, vidisti virtutem in operatione vestra; modo tantum fideliter crede. Respondit Simplicius cum lacrimis et dixit: Et quomodo iubetis ut ostendam credulitatem meam?

Dixit sanctus Quirillus: Ut credas Christum creatorem omnium rerum et omnia simulacra manu facta respuas. Respondit Simplicius: Ego credo quia vere ipse est deus verus Christus Iesus. Et facto secundum consuetudinem baptizavit eum in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti in carcere, et dimisit eos, et reversi sunt ad opera sua.

8. Et coeperunt cavare concas ex lapide porfyretico cum sigillis set herbacantis. Et in qua hora mittebant manus suas ad opera, in nomine Iesu Christi operabantur cum signo crucis. Unus autem de fylosofis intuens et videns quomodo sine signo crucis nihil faciebant, sed utebantur omni ora signum Christi in opere, contristatus est vehementer et dixit ira plenus: Hoc genus magicae artis est, quod signum nescio quod ad crudelitatem pertinet et per ipsud omina prospera a vobis aguntur. Respondit Claudius et dixit: Nescis, fylosofe, quia hoc signum, quod fuit ad crudelitatem, ad vitam perducit aeternam qui credit in eum? Respondit phylosophus: Non potest crudelitas mortis ad vitam perducere, sed quantum ad vitam per abstinentiam temporalem potest perveniri. Respondit Claudius et dixit: Deus dominus Iesus Christus ipse dixit: Qui invenit animam suam perdit eam, et qui perdiderit animam suam, inveniet eam. Respondit phylosophus: Ergo et vos Christum sequimini colentes eum? Respondit Claudius: Vere in ipsius signo et virtute omnia opera manuum nostrarum facimus, quia sic nos docuit doctor gentium beatus Paulus apostulus dicens: Quidquid facitis, in nomine domini facite. Respondit phylosophus: In cuius nomine domini? Dixit Simpronianus: In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi. Dixit ad eum philosofus: et si ipse est deus aut dominus, quomodo morti subiacuit? Respondit Simpronianus: Bene dicis quia morti subiacuit; tamen si seis quia mortuus est, quia surrexit cognitum tibi non est?

9. His ita altercantibus, multi ex artificibus quadratariis crediderunt in verbis et doctrinis baeti Simproniani. Et dixerunt ad alterutrum: Melius nobis est ut in arte iuvemur et fortes esse possimus per eius nomen qui mortuus est et resurrexit.

10. Eodem tempore iuvente Dioclitiano perfectae sunt concae porfyreticae cum malis et herbacantis per manus Claudii, Simproniani, Nicostrati et Castorii. Et allata ante conspectum Dioclitiani augusti. Et placuerunt omnia, et dona multiplicavit Simproniano, Claudio, Castorio et Nicostrato. Tunc Diocletianus dixit: Volo columnas eum capita foliata abscidi de monte porfyretico dictantibus Claudio, Simproniano, Nicostrato et Castorio.

11. Hoc audientes phylosofi indignati sunt; vehementer quidem iussio Dioclitiani urguebat.

Accedentes autem ad montem designaverunt partem lapidis qui incideretur. Tunc oraverunt et fecerunt signum crucis Christi. Et dictantes et dolantes coeperunt articices quadratarii incidere lapidem ad collyrium columnae. Et operabantur cotidie per manses tres.

12. Explicita una columna mirifica arte perfecta, dixerunt phylosofi ad Claudium, Simpronianum, Nicostratum et Castorium et Simplicium: Vos qui dono locupletati estis, date operam in alia columna incidenda. Quare a nobis discere desideratis artem? Respondentes hii quinque uno ore dixerunt: In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi, in quem confidimus, <incidimus> et hanc aliam columnam sicut et priorem. Et dantes opera cum summo studio intra dies viginti et sex inciderunt aliam columnam. Tunc phylosophi indignantes dixerunt: Haec carmina non sunt nisi magicae artis. Ita sculpentes facturas diversi operis, dabant studium, et bene sequebatur ars consilio eorum, qui nihil per peritam artis phylosofiae faciebant, nisi in nomine Christi operabantur nitidae. Hoc videntes phylosofi suggestionem dederunt Dioclitiano augusto dicentes: Summe princeps et ornator saeculi, magnum consilium preacepti vestri et mansuetudini in opera montis designati, ut lapis preatiosus incidatur ad mirificum ornamentum rei publicae vestrae et multa opera clara facta est in columnarum metallo miroque labore serenitatis vestrae. Dioclitianus augustus dixit: Vere dilector peritiam horum hominum. Et fecit omnes quinque aspectibus suis praesentari; quibus laetus ita dixit: Per virtutem deorum, quia sublimabo vos divitiis et donis; tantum sigilla praecidite de monte hoc porfyretico. Et iussit victurias et cupidines et concas iterum fieri, maxime Asclepium.

13. Et fecerunt concas, victorias, cupidines, et Asclepium simulacrum non fecerunt. Et post aliquantos dies optulerunt opera sua in diversa ornamenta sigillorum. Similiter laetificatus est Dioclitianus peritiae artis quadratariae, et dixit Dioclitianus augustus ad Claudium, Simpronianum, Nicostratus, Castorium et Simplicium: Gaudeo in studio artis vestrae, tamen, quare non ostendistis amorem, ut deum Asclepium cunctarum sanitatum dolaretis? Pergite cum pace et date operam in hoc simulacro, et leones fundentes aquam et aquilas et cervos et gentium multarum similitudinem operamini. Et ipsa hora fecerunt secundum consuetudinem, et operati sunt omnia, excepto simulacro Asclepii. Post menses vero IIII dederunt suggestionem Dioclitiano augusto Phylosophi, ut videret opera artificum et iussit omnia in campo adferri. Et dum illata fuissent, Asclepius non est praesentatus secunndum praeceptum Dioclitiani.

14. Et dum nimio amore ipsum requireret, suggestionem dederunt phylosophi dicentes: Piissime Caesar et simper auguste, qui omnes homines diligis et es pacis amicus, sciat mansuetudo tua, quia hos quos diligis, christiani sunt, et omne quidquid eis imperator fuerit in nomine Christi faciunt. Respondit Dioclitianus augustus dicens: Si omnia opera eorum in nomine Christi magnifica esse cognoscuntur, non est crudele sed magis gloriosum. Responderunt phylosofi dicentes: Ignoras piissime, quia praecepta pietatis tuae non oboediunt conscientia crudeli, et ideo noluerunt artis munificentiam in aedificatione simulacri dei Scolafii ostendere. Respondit Dioclitianus dicens: Deducantur ad me isti viri.

15. Et cum vocati fuissent Claudius, Simpronianus, Castorius, Nicostratus et Simplicius, dixit ad eos Dioclitianus: Scitis quo affectu et gratia vos diligerit mansuetudo nostra et pio amore vos foverim; quare non oboedistis praeceptis nostris, ut sculpiretis de metallo porfyretico deum Asclepium? Respondit Claudius: Pie semper aaugustae, nos semper oboedivimus pietati vestrae et servimus claritati tuae: imaginem vero hominis miserrimi numquam faciemus, quia sic scriptum est: Similis illis fiant qui faciunt ea, et omnes qui confidunt in eis. Tunc exarserunt phylosophi ad versus eos, dicentes ad Dioclitianum: Piissime semper Auguste, vides perfidiam, quomodo pietati vestrae superbo semone locuntur? Dioclitianus augustus dixit: Non execrentur periti artifices, sed magis colantur. Phylosofi dixerunt: Ergo serviant praeceptis pietatis vestrae, aut nos invenimus qui faciant secundum voluntatem clementiae vestrae. Dioclitianus augustus dixit: Inveniuntur doctiores huius artis? Phylosophi dixerunt: Nos procuravimus viros religione suffultos. Dioclitianus dixit: Si de hoc matallo procuraveritis ut deum Scolapium faciant, et hos sacrilegii paena constringit, et illi magni erunt apud nostrum mansuetudinem.

16. Tunc coeperunt phylosofi contra Claudium, Simpronianum, Nicostratum, Castorium et Simplicium habere altercationem: Quare non in arte vestra praeceptis piissimi augusti Dioclitiani oboeditis et facitis voluntatem eius? Claudius dixit: Nos non blasphemamus creatorem nostrum, et nos ipsos non confundimus, ut rei inveniamur in conspectu eius. Phylosofi dixerunt: Claruit quia christiani estis. Dixit Castorius: Vere christiani sumus. Tunc phylosofi elegerunt alios artifices quadratarios et fecerunt sculpientes Asclepium ex metallo proconisso. Et protulerunt ante phylosophos post dies triginta et unum. Phylosofi nuntiaverunt Dioclitiano augusto Asclepium perfectum. Et iussit Dioclitianus deferri simulacrum ante conspectum suum.

17. Et cum vidisset simulacrum, miratus est et dixit: Hoc artis ingenium ipsorum est, qui nobis in arte sculpturae placuerunt? Phylosofi dixerunt: Sacratissime princeps et semper auguste, hos quos declarat serenitas vestra in arte quadrataria peritissimos esse, id est Claudium, Simpronianum, Nicostratus, Castorius et Simplicium, innotescat mansuetudini vestrae eos sacrilegos christianos esse et per incantationum carmina omne genus humanum sibi humiliari. Dioclitianus augustus dixit: Si praeceptis iustitiae non oboedierint et vera est locutio suggestionis vestrae, ferant sententiam sacrilegii. Et iussit cuidam tribuno, Lampadio nomine, sub moderazione verborum eos cum phylosofis audiri, dicens: Iuxta examinationem eos proba, et inter quos inventa fuerit quaerilla falsi testimonii, reatus poena feriatur. Eodem tempore Lampadius tribunus iussit ante templum Solis in eodem loco tribunal parari, et omnes artifices collegi, et Simpronianum, Claudium, Nicostratum, Castorium et Simplicium, et phylosofos: ad quos publice et clara voce Lampadius tribunus dixit: Domini piissimi princeps hoc iubentes dixerunt, ut veritate a nobis cognita inter phylosophos et magistros Claudium, Simpronianum, Castorium, Nicostratum et Simplicium clarescat, si vera accusatio esset inter partes. Clamaverunt omnes artifices quadratarii invidiose moniti a filosophis: Per salutem piissimi Caesaris, tolle sacrilegos, tolle magos.

18. Videns autem Lampadius tribunus quia invidiose clamarent artifices, dixit: Causa terminata adhuc non est, quomodo possum dare sententiam? Phylosofi dixerunt: Si non sunt magi, adorent deum Caesaris. Continuo iussit Lampadius tribunus Simproniano, Claudio, Castorio, Nicostrato et Simplicio: Adorate deum Solem, ut destruatis consilium phylosoforum. Qui respondentes dixerunt: Nos numquam adoravimus facturam manuum nostrarum, sed adoramus dominum caeli et terrae, qui est imperator perpetuus et deus aeternus, dominus Iesus Christus. Philosofi dixerunt: Ecce cognovisti veritatem, renuntia Caesari. Tunc Lampadius iussit eos retrudi in custodia publica. Post dies vero novem, invento silentio, renuntiavit gestum Dioclitiano augusto. Eodem die et phylosofi accusabant eos invidiosae principi dicentes: Si hii evaserint, periet cura deorum. Iratus Dioclitianus augustus dixit: Per Solem, quod si non sacrificaverint deo Soli secundum morem antiquum, et monitis non oboedierint, diversis et exquisitis eos tormentis consumam.

19. Mox Lampadius tribunus iussit, ut alia die in eodem loco ante templum Solis sisterent. Et dixit Lampadius tribunus: Introducantur ambae partes, et phylosofi et quadratarii. Et introductis, Lampadius tribunus dixit: Veniant accusatores et dicant quid eis inpugnandum sit. Introeuntibus autem phylosofis, nomine Crisolitus phylosofus ad Lampadium tribunum dixit: Quod docuit intelligentia tua, quid amplius quaeris cognoscere? Lampadius tribunus dixit ad Claudium, Nicostratum, Simpronianum, Castorium et Simplicium: Quod iusserunt piissimi principes cognitum vobis est? Dixerunt hii quinque: Nescimus. Et dixit illis: Ut sacrificentis deo Soli et antiquis numinibus detis honorem. Claudius respondit: Nos damus honorem deo omnipotenti et Iesu Christo filio eius, in cuius nomine semper speravimus et post tenebras ad lucem venisse confidemus. Lampadius dixit: Et quae lux clara quam dei Solis? Respondit Claudius: Christus qui natus est de spiritu sancto et Maria Vergine, qui inluminat solem et lunam et hominem nomine venientem in hunc mundum, qui <est> vera lux ubi, tenebrae non sunt ullae. Lampadius tribunus dixit: Rogo et commoneo vos, nolite perdere tantum amorem et gratiam principis Dioclitiani. Melius ergo nostis, quia piissimus princeps tantum gratus est omnibus hominibus, ut omnes tanto affectu veneretur quantum fretres et filios, maxime cultures deorum. Simpronianus una cum sociis dixit: Piissimus princeps tantum debet curam habere hominum,

ut deum caeli non offendat, qui est creator omnium rerum. Nam nos curam habemus, ne pereamus in futuro saeculo, ubi ignis non extinguetur. Lampadius tribunus considerans praeceptum Dioclitiani, iterum rettulit gestam rem Dioclitiano. Tunc Dioclitianus artem eorum considerans praecoepit Lampadio tribuno dicens: Amodo si non consenserint et sacrificaverint deo Soli, verberibus scorpionum eos adflige; si autem consenserint, deduc eos ad mansuetudinem nostram.

20. Post dies vero quinque iterum sedit in eodem loco ante templum Solis, et iussit eos sub voce praeconia introduci, et ostendi eis terrores et genera tormentorum. Quibus ita locutus est, dicens: Audite me et evadite tormenta et estote cari et amici nobilium principum, et sacrificate deo Soli. Nam iam loqui non est apud vos sermonibus blandis. Respondit Claudius una cum sociis cum magna fiducia dicens: Nos non pavescimus terrores nec blanditiis frangimur, sed timemus tormenta aeterna. Nam sciat Diocletianus augustus, nos christianos esse et numquam discedere ab eius cultura. Iratus Lampadius tribunus iussit eos expoliari et scorpionibus mactari, sub voce praeconia dicens: Praecepta principum contemnere nolite. In eadem hora abreptus est Lampadius a daemonio et discerpens se expiravit, sedens in tribunal suum. Hoc audiens uxor eius et familia cucurrerunt ad phylosofos cum mugitu magno, ut devulgaretur Dioclitiano. Hoc cum audisset Dioclitianus, iratus est vehementer et nimio furore plenus dixit: fiant loculi plumbei, et vivi in eos recludantur, et prohiciantur in fluvio. Tunc Nicitius quidam togatus, qui adsedabat Lampadio, fecit praeceptum Dioclitiani augusti, et fecit loculos plumbeos et vivos omnes in eos inclausit, et praecipitari iussit in fluvio. Sanctus Quirillus episcopus hoc audiens in carcere afflixit se, et transivit, ad Deum. Qui passi sunt sub die VI id. novembris.

21. In ipsis diebus ambulavit Dioclitianus exinde ad Sirme. Post dies vero XL et II quidam Nicodemus christianus levavit loculos cum corpora et posuit in domo sua.

22. Veniens vero Dioclitianus ex Sirmis post menses undecim, ingressus est Romam. Et statim iussit in termas Traianas templum Asclepii aedificari et simulacrum fieri ex lapide proconisso. Quod cum factum fuisset praecepit omnes curas in eodem templo in praegomas aeneas cum caracteribus infigi, et iussit ut omnes militiae venientes ad simulacrum Asclepii sacrificiis et ad turificandum compellerentur, maxime urbanae praefecturae milites. Cumque omnes ad sacrificia conpellerentur, quattour quidam cornicularii conpellebantur ad sacrificandum. Illis autem reluctantibus, nuntiatum est Dioclitiano augusto; quos iussit ante ipsud simulacrum ictu plumbatarum deficere. Qui cum diu caederentur, emiserunt spiritum. Quorum corpora iussit in platea canibus iactari; quae etiam corpora iacuerunt diebus quinque. Tunc beatus Sevastianus noctu cum Militiadem episcopum collegit corpora et sepelivit in via Labicana, miliario ab urbe tertio, cum sanctis aliis in arenario. Quod dum eodem tempore sed post duos annos evenisset, id est sextum idus novembris, et nomina eorum repperire minime potuissent, iussit beatus Militiades episcopus ut sub nomina sanctorum Claudii, Nicostrati, Simproniani et Castorii anniversaria dies eorum recolatur. Censualis a gleba actuarius nomine Porfyreus gestam scripsit.

Passion of the Four Crowned Martyrs According to Porphyrius

Incipit passio sanctorum Simproniani, Claudii, Nicostrati, Castorii et Simplicii

1. When Diocletian went to Pannonia for the opening in his presence of all kind of quarries in the mountains, it so happened that, when all the craftsmen of the area were assembled, he found among them men of great artistic skills by the name of Claudius, Castorius, Sempronianus and Nicostratus, who excelled in the art of sculpture. They were secretly Christians and followed the precepts of God, and any sculptural work they took on, they carved in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. One day the craftsmen were called on by Diocletian to sculpt an image of the Sun from a single block of Thassos marble, with a quadriga and every detail, the horses, chariot and all. All the craftsmen began to reflect and discuss this work with the philosophers. But when a large block of Thassos marble had been cut, (it) did not seem suited to being sculpted according to the wishes of the august Diocletian, and for many days relations between the craftsmen and the philosophers were tense.

2. One day all 622 craftsmen met with five philosophers to inspect the texture of the stone, and began to examine the veining, and there was much disagreement between craftsmen and philosophers. Just then, Sempronianus, counting on his own faith, said to his craftsmen colleagues: "Please, all of you, have faith in me and I will find a way along with my fellow disciples Claudius, Simplicius, Nicostratus and Castorius." And, following the veins of the stone, he began to carve the work in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the work went well; and the sculpture of the statue of the Sun measuring twenty-five feet was made according to the emperor's wishes.

3. This was then announced to Diocletian Augustus, who rejoiced. At this point, he ordered a temple to be built in the same place in Pannonia, in the locality known as *mons pinguis*. And there he erected and positioned the statue, and he gilded it. And he began to celebrate in that place with sacrifices, ointments and perfumes, and gave great gifts to the craftsmen. Then, delighted by the work and taken by an excess of enthusiasm, he ordered that the craftsmen carve columns or capitals in Porphyry. And he called Claudius, Sempronianus, Nicostratus, Castorius and Simplicius into his presence. Receiving them with joy he said to them: "I want you to sculpt with your great skill capitals for columns from the porphyritic mountain."

4. And, following this order, they left with a large number of craftsmen and philosophers. When they arrived at the porphyritic mountain, which is called igneous, they began carving a forty-foot block. Claudius, then, did everything in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. And the work was a success. But anything done by Simplicius, who was a gentile, never went according to plan. One day Nicostratus said to Simplicius: "Brother, why do your tools break?" And Simplicius: "Please, temper them for me so that they will not break." Claudius replied and said: "Give me your whole tool bag." And as he put his tool to the sculpture, Claudius said: "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, may this tool be strong and solid to do this work." And from that time on Simplicius began to do all the sculptural work with his own tools, well and in the right way, like Sempronianus. Then Simplicius began to ask Sempronianus with extraordinary enthusiasm and interest what kind of temper it was, because his iron tools never broke, which had not been the case previously. Sempronianus said to him, in one voice with Claudius: "So, brother, you are surprised by the temper of the tools? He, who is the Creator of all things, He has fortified his work." Simplicius replied to Sempronianus: "Was it not perhaps the god Jupiter himself who made all these things?" Claudius replied: "Brother, repent, because you blaspheme, not knowing what you are talking about. God, who we confide in, He created all things, and thus Jesus Christ His son our Lord, and the Holy Spirit. Now, that which you call god, do you not notice that he is sculpted by our hands? Do you not know that the sun, too, which we have artificially made by means of our sculpture, is also nothing?"

5. That same day, while they were arguing, Diocletian Augustus ordered that vases decorated with small reliefs be sculpted in Porphyry. So Sempronianus, Claudius, Castorius and Nicostratus began carving the vases and a basin with reliefs and spouts of great finesse.

6. But anything Simplicius put his hand to broke. So he said to Sempronianus: "I beseech you, in the name of the Sun god, tell me who this god is that created everything, in whose name you work so well." In reply, Claudius said to Simplicius: "Did you like what you saw done before your very eyes?" Simplicius replied saying: "I see that you pray I don't know what prayer in secret; tell me clearly about this your god's prayer, so that with you I can also enjoy his fellowship." Claudius said to him: "And is there pure fellowship in you?" Simplicius replied: "Truly pure, indeed, you also know only too well how I have behaved with you for fifteen years." Sempronianus said to him: "If you are able to believe, we will tell you and you will obtain the art and have eternal life." Simplicius replied: "By my desire I wanted to know your god, and I beg this of you." Claudius said to him: "Look, this is what we tell you in faith, so you will believe in the Lord Jesus Christ the son of God and receive his baptism and all things

will be added to you." Simplicius replied: "So do not hesitate, because I am of one mind with you as much in art as in religion." And they began looking for a priest. And they found a bishop held captive, named Cyrillus, deported from Antioch, imprisoned for the name of Christ, who had been tormented by many lashings for three years. On reaching him at night, Sempronianus, Claudius, Nicostratus and Castorius, along with Simplicius, found him in chains with many other believers. Entering as far as the holy Cyrillus they threw themselves at his feet and asked him to baptise Simplicius. At these words the blessed Cyrillus, filled with joy, said to Simplicius: "Son, reflect on whether you believe with all your heart, and all will be added to you."

7. And, in reply, Claudius, Sempronianus, Nicostratus and Castorius told the holy Cyrillus what had happened with the story of the tools. And then the holy Cyrillus, giving thanks to omnipotent God, said to Simplicius: "Son, you have seen the virtue of your work; you must only believe as faithfully." Simplicius replied in tears, saying: "And how do you command me to show my faith?" The holy Cyrillus said: "Believe in Christ, creator of all things, and reject all likenesses made with the hands." Simplicius replied: "I believe that in truth He, Jesus Christ is the true God." And having done this he baptised him in prison according to the custom in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and he dismissed them and they went back to their work.

8. And they began carving the Porphyry vases with reliefs and acanthus leaves. And each time they set to work, they worked in the name of Jesus Christ with the sign of the Cross. But one of the philosophers, observing and seeing that without the sign of the cross they did nothing, but used the sign of Christ in every moment during the work, was distressed and said to them full of anger: "This is a kind of magic, I do not recognise this sign, which is a sign of cruelty and thanks to it everything goes well for you!" Claudius replied, saying: "Do you not know, philosopher, that this sign, which was indeed a sign of cruelty, leads he who believes in Him to eternal life?" The philosopher replied: "The cruelty of death cannot lead to life, one can attain life only through temporary abstinence." Claudius replied saying: "God, the lord Jesus Christ, himself says: 'He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.'" The philosopher replied: "So you too follow Christ and worship him?" Claudius replied: "In truth we carry out all the works with our hands in his sign and righteousness, because this is what has been taught us by the teacher of men, the blessed apostle Paul, saying: 'And whatsoever ye do in word or deed do all in the name of the Lord.'"[4] The philosopher replied: "In the name of which lord?" Sempronianus said: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." The philosopher said to him: "And if he is himself god or the lord, how come he suffered death?" Sempronianus replied: "'You are right to say he suffered death; but if you know that he died, why do you not also know that he rose again?"

9. While they were arguing in this way, many of the sculptors believed in the words and doctrine of the blessed Sempronianus. And they said to one another: "It is better for us to be helped in our work and to be fortified by the name of he who died and rose again."

10. At that time the Porphyry vases with apples and acanthus leaves ordered by Diocletian were completed by Claudius, Sempronianus, Nicostratus and Castorius. And the vases were taken before Diocletian Augustus. And he liked all of them, and multiplied the gifts for Sempronianus, Claudius, Castorius and Nicostratus. Then Diocletian said: "I want columns with foliated capitals to be carved from the porphyritic mountain under the direction of Claudius, Sempronianus, Nicostratus and Castorius.

11. On hearing this the philosophers were outraged: Diocletian's order upset them terribly. So on arriving at the mountain they indicated which part of the rock should be quarried. They then prayed and made the sign of Christ's cross. And, directing the works and themselves working with the adze, the sculptors began to carve the rock into the shape of a column. And they worked every day for three months.

12. On completing the column, carved with extraordinary skill, the philosophers said to Claudius, Sempronianus, Nicostratus, Castorius and Simplicius: "You who have received a rich gift, get to work and carve another column. Why do you want to learn the trade from us?" These five answered in one voice: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom we trust, we also carve this other column like the previous one." And, setting to work with great zeal, in twenty-six days they carved another column. Then the philosophers said impatiently: "These are no more than magic formulas." So, carving objects of every kind, they worked diligently and the work always came out well according to their intention, they who did nothing by virtue of theoretical ability, but worked splendidly in the name of Christ. On seeing this the philosophers advised Diocletian, saying: "Highest prince and honour of the world, with your command and your clemency you have made a noble decision about the works on the mountain; that is, that the precious stone be sculpted into a marvellous ornament of your status, and with much exertion it has been made splendid with the stone of the columns and wonderful effort for your serenity." Diocletian Augustus said: "The skill of these men really does fill me with joy." And ordered that all five be presented before him; and, delighted, he said to them: "By the virtue of the gods, I glorify you with riches and gifts; you must only carve statues from this porphyritic mountain." And he ordered that victories and cupids be made and, once again, vases, and especially an Asclepius.

13. And they made the vases, the victories and the cupids, but did not make the statue of Asclepius. And after several days they spent their time making various statue decorations. Diocletian was again pleased by their skill at sculpture, and Diocletian Augustus said to Claudius, Sempronianus, Nicostratus, Castorius and Simplicius: "I am joyful with love of your art, but why have you not shown enthusiasm for sculpting Asclepius, the god of all healing? Go in peace and put yourselves to work on this

likeness, and make lions that pour water, eagles, deer and an image of many people." And, as usual, they obeyed immediately and made all the things, apart from the statue of Asclepius. So, after four months, the philosophers advised Diocletian Augustus to go and see the craftsmen's work, and he ordered that all the products be taken into an open space. And although they were all taken there, Asclepius was not presented according to Diocletian's command.

14. And although he complained excitedly, the philosophers advised him saying: "Most pious and always august Caesar, who loves all men and is the friend of peace, your clemency must know that these men who you love are Christians, and all that they are ordered to do they do in the name of Christ." Diocletian Augustus replied saying: "If all their works in the name of Christ are magnificent, then it is not an impious but a glorious thing!" The philosophers replied saying: "You do not know, oh most godly one, that they do not obey the commands of your piety with blasphemous conscience, and for this they did not want to show an abundance of art in making the statue of Asclepius." Diocletian replied saying: "Bring these men to me."

15. And when Claudius, Sempronianus, Castorius, Nicostratus and Simplicius had been called, Diocletian said to them: "You know with what affection and grace our benevolence has given you and with what godly love I have favoured you; for what reason have you not obeyed our orders to sculpt the god Asclepius from Porphyry?" Claudius replied: "Ever pius Augustus, we have always obeyed your piety and served your splendour; but we will never make the image of a wretched man, because it is written thus: 'They that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them.'" Then the philosophers roused themselves against them, saying to Diocletian: "Ever the most pious Augustus, do you not see their poor faith, and what haughty words they turn to your piety?" Diocletian Augustus said: "They are not reviled by expert craftsmen but rather revered by them." The philosophers said: "So, either they obey your godly commands, or we have others who act according to the will of your clemency." Diocletian Augustus said: "Are men more skilled in this art to be found?" The philosophers said: "We are able to find men of proven religious piety." Diocletian said: "If you can arrange for them to make the god Asclepius from this stone, then these will be sentenced for sacrilege, and those others will be grand in our benevolence."

16. Then the philosophers began a threatening discussion with Claudius, Sempronianus, Nicostratus, Castorius and Simplicius: "Why do you not obey the commands of the most pious Diocletian Augustus in your work and do not do his will?" Claudius said: "We do not take our creator in vain, and we do not mystify ourselves so as to be recognised as guilty before him." The philosophers said: "It is obvious that you are Christians." Castorius said: "In truth we are Christians." So the philosophers chose other sculptors and had them sculpt Asclepius from Proconnesian marble. And these brought it before the philosophers after thirty-one days. The philosophers announced to Diocletian Augustus that Asclepius was ready. And Diocletian ordered that the statue be brought before him.

17. And, having seen the statue, he admired it and said: "Is this the artistic ability of these same men who please us in the art of sculpture?" The philosophers said: "Most venerated and always august prince, those who your serenity declares to be very skilled in the art of sculpture, that is to say, Claudius, Sempronianus, Nicostratus, Castorius and Simplicius, may your mildness know that they are sacrilegious Christians and that they subjugate the entire human race with their magic formulas." Diocletian Augustus said: "If they did not obey the dictates of justice and if your advice is good, they must be condemned for sacrilege." And he ordered a certain tribune, by the name of Lampadius, to listen to them together with the philosophers and pay heed to their words, saying: "Question them and judge them, and those for whom an accusation of false testimony is made, must be given the punishment befitting their guilt." So the tribune Lampadius ordered that in that same place a court be set up in front of the temple of the Sun, and that all the craftsmen be assembled, along with Sempronianus, Claudius, Nicostratus, Castorius and Simplicius and the philosophers; to them the tribune Lampadius publicly and in a clear voice said: "The lords most pious princes ordering this said that, the truth being known to us, may there be clarification between the philosophers and the masters Claudius, Sempronianus, Castorius, Nicostratus and Simplicius as to whether the accusation between the parties is true." All the sculptors shouted with hatred, having been instructed by the philosophers: "For the salvation of the most pious Caesar, take the sacrilegious, take the magicians!"

18. On seeing that the craftsmen shouted with hatred, the tribune Lampadius then said: "The hearing is not yet over, how can I pass sentence?" The philosophers said: "If they are not magicians, they should worship the god of Caesar." The tribune Lampadius immediately ordered Sempronianus, Claudius, Castorius, Nicostratus and Simplicius: "Worship the Sun god, so as to destroy the philosophers' plans!" And together they replied: "We have never worshipped anything that we have made with our hands, but we worship the Lord of heaven and of earth, who is the perpetual emperor and eternal god, the Lord Jesus Christ." The philosophers said: "See, now you know the truth, report it to Caesar." So Lampadius ordered that they be thrown into prison. After nine days, when the waters had calmed, he told Diocletian Augustus what had happened. That same day the philosophers also accused them with hatred to the prince, saying: "If they are let off, the worship of the gods will go to ruin." Infuriated, Diocletian Augustus said: "By the Sun, if they do not sacrifice to the Sun god according to the ancient custom, and do not obey my exhortations, I will crush them with the most varied and elaborate tortures."

19. The tribune Lampadius immediately ordered them to be brought to trial on another day in the same place, before the temple of the Sun. And the tribune Lampadius said: "Bring in both parties, the philosophers and the sculptors." And, once they had entered, the tribune Lampadius said: "The prosecutors come forward and state their accusation." So when the philosophers

had entered, one by the name of Chrysolitus said to the tribune Lampadius: "What more do you want to know than that which your insight has shown you?" The tribune Lampadius said to Claudius, Nicostratus, Sempronianus, Castorius and Simplicius: "Do you know what the most pious prince has ordered?" These five said: "We do not know." And he said to them: "That you must sacrifice to the Sun god and honour the ancient divinities." Claudius replied: "We honour omnipotent God and Jesus Christ his Son, in whose name we have always trusted and we believe that after the darkness he came into the light." Lampadius said: "And what light is brighter than that of the Sun god?" Claudius replied: "Christ, who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, who illuminates the sun and the moon and every man who comes into this world, who is genuine light, where darkness does not exist." The tribune Lampadius said: "I ask and implore you, do not lose the great love and favour of Prince Diocletian. Indeed, you should know that the most pious prince has all men so much to heart that he reveres all with a love worthy of brothers and sons, and especially those who worship the gods." Sempronianus along with his companions said: "The most pious prince must have much care for men so as not to offend the God of heaven, who is creator of all things. Indeed, we are concerned at not perishing in the world to come, where fire will not be extinguished." The tribune Lampadius, considering Diocletian's order, once again told him what had happened. Then Diocletian, mindful of their occupation, instructed the tribune Lampadius saying: "From now on, if they do not obey and sacrifice to the Sun god, punish them with blows of the scorpion; but if they obey, bring them before our benevolence."

20. So, after five days he reopened the court in the same place in front of the temple of the Sun, and he ordered that they be presented with public proclamation, and be shown the various kinds of frightening instruments of torture. And he spoke to them, saying: "Listen to me and avoid torture and be dear and friends to the noble princes, sacrifice to the Sun god. Indeed, by now it is no longer possible to speak to you in mild words." Claudius replied along with his companions, saying with great faith: "We do not fear the instruments of torture, nor are we won over by flattery, but we fear eternal torment. In truth, may Diocletian Augustus know that we are Christians and will never abandon our worship of Him." Furious, the tribune Lampadius ordered that they be stripped and punished with the scorpions, saying with public proclamation: "The orders of the princes must not be denied!" At that exact moment Lampadius was taken by the devil and, slashing himself, died, seated in his own court. On hearing this, his wife and family hurried to the philosophers with great lamentation, so that the thing be reported to Diocletian. On hearing this Diocletian became very angry, and brimming with fury said: "Lead coffins are to be made, and they to be enclosed inside alive, and thrown into the river." So a certain Nicitius, a ruling magistrate and assistant to Lampadius, followed the orders of Diocletian Augustus and made the lead coffins and had them enclosed inside alive, and ordered that they be thrown into the river. The bishop, Saint Cyrillus, on hearing about this in prison, was very upset and passed over to God. They suffered their passion on the sixth day of the Ides of November (8 November).

21. In those days Diocletian went to Sirmium. After forty-two days a certain Christian by the name of Nicodemus recovered the coffins with the bodies and placed them in his house.

22. Diocletian, returning from Sirmium after eleven months, then entered Rome. And he immediately ordered that a temple to Asclepius be built in the baths of Trajan and that a statue be made in Proconnesian marble. Once this had been done, he ordered that all the cures be recorded on sheets of inscribed bronze to be affixed in the same temple, and ordered that all the soldiers going to the statue of Asclepius be obliged to make sacrifices and burn incense, and in particular the soldiers of the urban prefecture. As it was obligatory for all to take part in the sacrifices, four particular *cornicularii* were also forced to make sacrifice. But as they hesitated, the matter was reported to Diocletian Augustus; he ordered that they be left lifeless in front of the statue itself from blows of the *plumbata*. Struck for a long time, they died. He ordered that their bodies be thrown to the dogs in the streets; and these bodies lay there for five days. Then the blessed Sebastian, at night, along with the bishop Miltiades, collected the bodies and buried them in Via Labicana, at the third mile from the city, with other saints in a sandy grave. And as this took place in the same period but two years later, that is to say on the sixth day of the Ides of November, and it was not possible to discover their names, the blessed bishop Miltiades ordered that their anniversary be celebrated under the name of the saints Claudius, Nicostratus, Sempronianus and Castorius.

Written by the *censualis a gleba actuarius* named Porphyrius.

*Damnati ad Metalla**

DARIO DEL BUFALO

In the ecclesiastical tradition, the reign of Diocletian (AD 284-305) is known as the "Age of Martyrs". The Dalmatian emperor issued a good four edicts against Christians and ordered a fierce persecution (the "Great Persecution" par excellence) that began in AD 303.

The persecution was particularly intense in the East, where the Christian faith was very widespread, and especially so in Egypt. Egypt fell under the jurisdiction of Diocletian with the institution of the tetrarchy (293) and the emperor, as Augustus in the East, visited there on various occasions.

From the third century, Roman Egypt experienced a period of relative turbulence. Subject to pressure from the Sassanids and exposed to the Syrian rulers' ambitions, Egypt had almost escaped Roman control until it became the object of a conquest campaign by Emperor Aurelian (272). The last decade of the century saw the outbreak of internal revolts and the election of an anti-emperor. Alexandria was besieged for eight months by the imperial forces with the presence of Diocletian, who afterwards visited Upper Egypt in 298.

Diocletian went up the Nile again and visited the Thebaid region (in 302) the last Emperor to visit Egypt and the only one who visited twice Upper Egypt. It was probably in occasion of one of these visits that the *sacellum* of the Great Temple of Amun, located in the city of Thebes (Luxor), was "frescoed" with a representation of the tetrarch leaders (fig. 79). In that period the temple, which was built in the Pharaonic era, was in the centre of a Roman encampment. The paintings in the *sacellum* depict a procession of soldiers and a series of seated figures (that probably represent an imperial hearing) (fig. 80). The central apse, on the other hand, illustrates four figures wearing togas surmounted by the imperial eagle (fig. 81) that correspond to the Augusti, Diocletian and Maximian in the centre, and to the Caesars, Galerius and Constantius, beside them.[1]

Returning to the vicissitudes of the Christians, Egypt was not only home to fanatical persecutors such as Sossianus Hierocles,[2] who was already present in Bithynia and prefect of Egypt in the Galerian period, but also to the quarries to which the confessors were deported and sentenced to hard labour *ad metalla*,** together with criminals guilty of more serious crimes.[3] These Roman quarries are situated in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, in the so-called Qena Quadrangle (fig. 82, map), and this impenetrable and inaccessible area is to be found about forty kilometres inland from the Red Sea, still today controlled by Bedouin tribes.[4] Here Mons Porphyrites (Gebel Abu Dukhan) is located, along the unpaved track that connected Kainopolis, a stop along the Nile, to Myos Hormos, a Ptolemaic port on the Red Sea (the Via Porphyrites). Near this mountain, over 1600 metres in height, the Imperial Red Porphyry was extracted, of a quality that was only to be found in this area. The stone was then transported by ox-drawn cart to Kainopolis or to Koptos (150 kilometres away or a seven day walk),[5] to subsequently reach the Mediterranean, having travelled down the Nile. The quarries were active from the first century AD, in particular from Claudius's reign onwards[6] and were used as places of imprisonment from at least the second century.[7] Already in the Trajanic and Antoninian periods, many Christians were destined to forced labour here.[8] The period of peak demand for Red Porphyry, apart from Hadrian's use of it, was during Diocletian's reign, when, incidentally, it was used in abundance in the palace of Split.[9] In those years, the quarries were developed, with the construction of new ramps and with the maintenance of the previous infrastructure.[10] The number of miners, which also included freemen - technicians and soldiers - amounted to several thousand and a fortified settlement existed, where there were also places of worship and, seemingly, thermal baths (in Wadi Umm Sidri located at the base of ramps) and necropolises.[11] There were also other residential settlements: the village known as Lykabettos, in the district of quarry A, another village near quarry B (in the north-west) and other accommodation spread over the mining areas. The activity was not limited just to extraction: the stonemasonry began on the mountain itself, as shown by the finds of fragments of columns, baths (fig. 83) and even a rough cast of a bust carved *in situ*.[12]

* Translator's note: the Latin *damnati ad metalla* is understood to mean "condemnation to the mines".

** Translator's note: the Latin *ad metalla* is understood to mean in this context "in the mines".

[1] BOWMAN 1986, pp. 44-46, 54.

[2] Hierocles also wrote anti-Christian works and was subsequently attacked by Eusebius of Caesarea in *Against Hierocles*.

[3] Cf. EUSEBIUS 1955, ch. 8.

[4] DEL BUFALO 2002, pp. 195-198.

[5] WERNER 1998, pp. 2-9, cf. ROMEO, DE BIASIO 2004, p. 107.

[6] ROMEO, DE BIASIO 2004, p. 101.

[7] Cf. ARISTIDE 2011, "Discorso Egizio" (or. 48) 349.

[8] PEACOCK 1995 with further references.

[9] GNOLI 1971, pp. 122, 128; ROMEO, DE BIASIO 2004, p. 102.

[10] Quarrying began to decline from the fourth century, with the subsequent diffusion of the practice of reusing older materials, which probably happened for Julian's sarcophagus, see ROMEO, DE BIASIO 2004, p. 103. The abandonment of the caves can be dated to the second half of the fifth century.

[11] ROMEO, DE BIASIO 2004, pp. 108-110.

[12] See PEACOCK 1995.

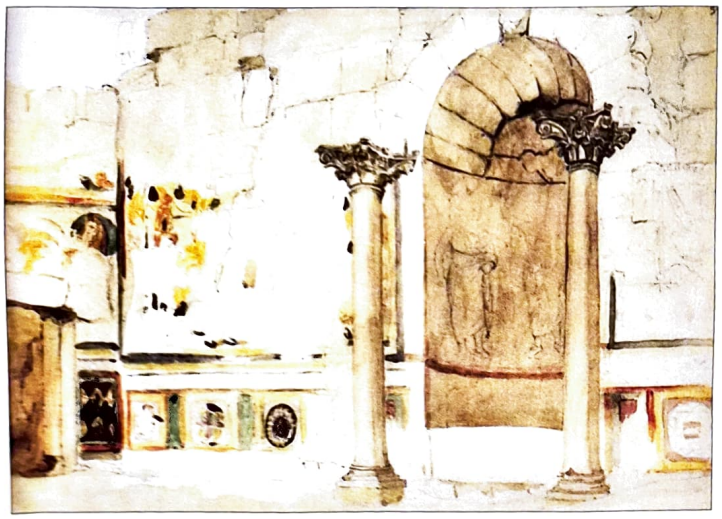


Fig. 79. Watercolour by G. Wilkinson, 19th century, showing the tetrarchic frescoes of Amun Temple in Luxor.

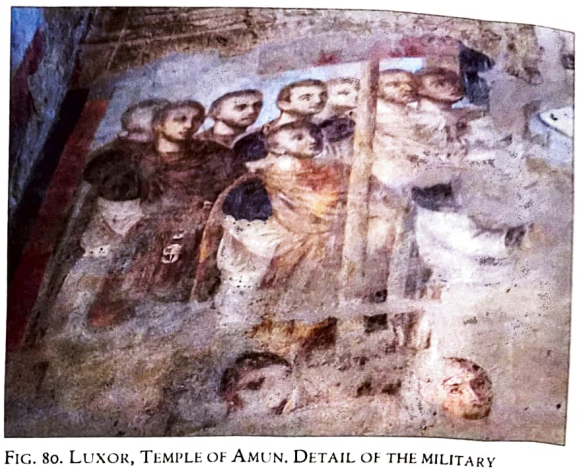


Fig. 80. Luxor, Temple of Amun. Detail of the military assembly represented in the frescoes on the main wall.

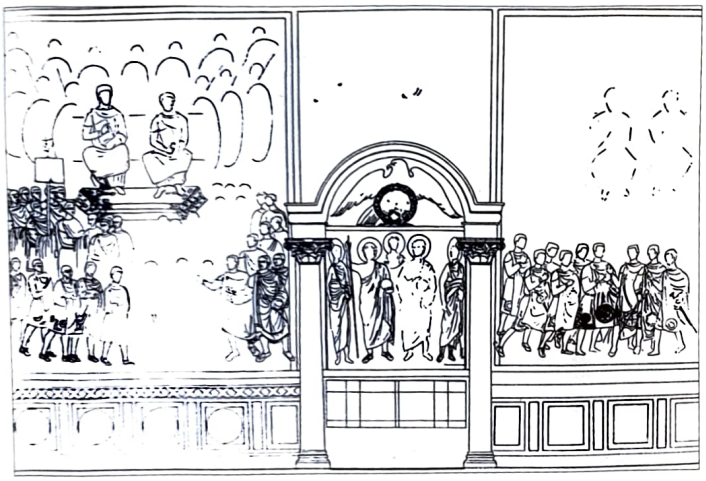


Fig. 81. Paper drawing reconstructing the scene of the military tetrarchic fresco in the Temple of Amun at Luxor.

Fig. 82. Map of Egypt with the Thebaid area in the Eastern Desert.

Fig. 83. Bath tub in Red Porphyry abandoned in the Porphyrites quarries (now lost).

Fig. 84. Iron handcuff found in a shelter of Wadi Nagat.

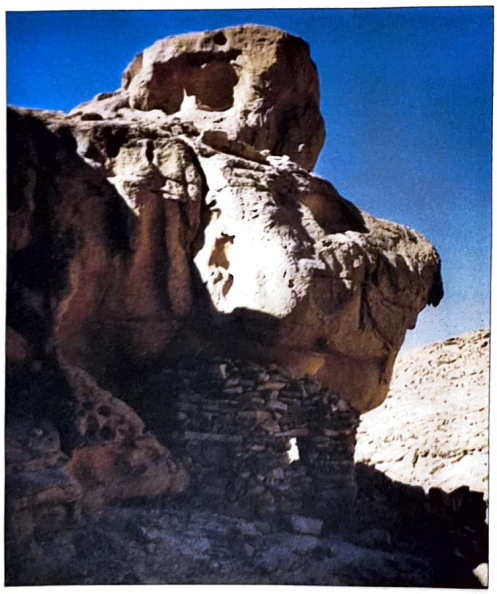


Fig. 85. Wadi Nagat. Rock shelter of Christian fugitives.

Fig. 86. Wadi Nagat. Shelter built in the rock wall of the wadi by Christian fugitives.

Fig. 87. Wadi Nagat. Cross symbol graffiti on a Christian shelter structure.

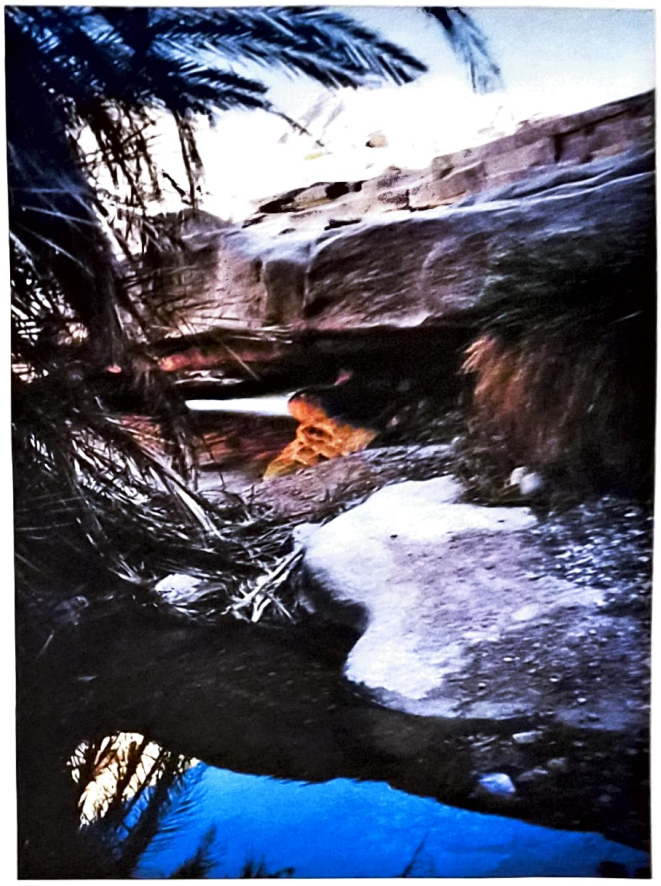


Fig. 88. Wadi Nagat. Natural cave with a small water source.

Fig. 89. Wadi Nagat. Natural cave with an open ceiling (like the one of Saint Paul).

Fig. 90. Jacobus de Voragine, the *Golden Legend*. A xilography depicting Saint Paul sharing a loaf of bread with Saint Anthony, while the raven, who brought the bread, is on the roof.

Fig. 91. Wadi Nagat. A view from the top of the wadi.

The *damnati ad metalla* were forced to dig the Porphyry with their hands and feet in chains. Any proselytising was not well tolerated and Eusebius recounts of the deportation of ninety-seven confessors, including women and children, from the quarries to Palestine, where, upon having professed their Christian faith, they suffered horrible mutilations.[13] Despite the oppression and the limited mobility that was forced upon them in the quarries, some Christians tried to escape and succeeded.

The bare hills in the Thebaid region offered almost inaccessible, rocky hideouts (fig. 85) that must have ensured the fugitives relative safety for the time necessary to elude the searches by their Roman captors. Wadi Nagat, an impervious gorge carved out by a now dry stream, is located the distance of a night's walk to the south of Mons Porphyrites and near to Mount Qattar. Still today, the steep, rocky face conceals refuges built in the local stone that have remained intact over the centuries (fig. 86). One of these shelters reveals Christian symbols (fig. 87) and the author, during a survey in 1995, discovered (together with Sheikh Abdel Azaher from the Khushmaan Bedouin clan) an iron manacle with chain rings. It is possible that one of the fugitives from Mons Porphyrites managed to free himself from it, but conserved it in memory of his past (fig. 84).

The fugitives from the quarries were certainly not the first, nor the only, outcasts to be sheltered by the desolate heights of the Thebaid. The area was home, as it still is today, to Bedouin tribes, alien, if not openly hostile, to society and the Roman state, and, over the course of the centuries, bandits and outlaws of all kinds had their hideaways there. According to unspecified Egyptian sources cited by the Italian Dominican friar, Domenico Cavalca (1270-1342, *Vite dei santi padri*), the Thebaid caves were the seat of clandestine mints, where, in the late Hellenistic period, money was minted and it would not have been difficult to obtain, or simply find, basic metallurgical tools (such as anvils and hammers). The life of the anchorite, Saint Paul of Thebes (*c.* 250-335), fits precisely into this scenario. The saint, known in the Christian tradition as the first hermit, fled to the desert to avoid persecution by Decius, having been denounced by a brother-in-law. According to Cavalca, Paul settled in a cavern situated on a completely barren mountain.

The cavern was relatively large and was characterised both by an opening in the ceiling, from which a date palm emerged, as well as by a small fresh-water spring. This description, which may seem bizarre, is not implausible. The author has had occasion to visit and photograph, specifically in Wadi Nagat, a cave that exactly matches the description found in the hagiographical sources (figs. 88-89). Places like this are certainly not common in the Thebaid mountain region and it may be hypothesised at this stage that the identification of Saint Paul's cave is the very same hideout that was visited and photographed. It is probable that the area had already been used by Christians fleeing from Mons Porphyrites - the first authentic anchorites, however much forced to be such - and that, aware of this "practice", Paul had chosen the region for his own voluntary hermitage.

Another piece of information from the hagiographic legends is of particular interest: so much so that Cavalca, and another thirteenth-century Dominican friar, Jacobus de Voragine (1230-1298, in the *Golden Legend*), both mention the tradition about a raven that ensured that Saint Paul of Thebes had half a loaf of bread on a daily basis for the duration of his hermitage, only to double the quantity the day that Saint Anthony Abbot visited him (fig. 90). In reality, a Bedouin figure may actually be behind the image of the raven: the customary black robes lend themselves to the metaphor of a bird with black plumage. Indeed, one can imagine that over the course of the centuries, through a more or less continual frequentation of the area, a form of solidarity between elements at the margins of imperial society was established and almost institutionalised. As well as the Bedouins' ability to control the territory, the rapidity in delivering a double quantity of food - a whole loaf of bread - when Saint Anthony arrived at Saint Paul's cave (fig. 91) must be attributed to a "raven". The same kind of solidarity will have allowed the fugitives, *damnati ad metalla,* during the Diocletian and Galerian era, to survive for some time in the rocky hideouts of Wadi Nagat.

The years from 311 to 313 were memorable for Christians: Emperor Galerius, up to then an intransigent supporter and promoter of the persecutions, promulgated the Edict of Toleration, to be confirmed in the Edict of Milan two years later by Constantine, when Christianity was put on the same level as the other professed religions throughout the Empire and confiscated property was returned to the Church. After only sixty-seven years, Christianity finally triumphed, becoming the state religion in 380, upon the decree issued by Theodosius I. The effects of this "liberation" were explosive in Egypt[14] and the people converted to Christianity almost immediately. During Constantine's reign, Christianity pervaded the social and ruling structures and radically changed the actual mentality of the population. It is estimated that by the end of the fourth century the vast majority of Egyptians professed the Christian faith and, in some cases, in forms that were more or less syncretic with earlier traditions.

With the publication of the Edict of Toleration (AD 311), several thousand Christian confessors had to be set free throughout the Empire, from prisons and from forced labour, including those in the Mons Porphyrites quarries. Thousands of finally free men embarked on the return journey through the desert, certainly helped (during the seven or more days of travel that separated the quarries from Thebes) by the Roman authorities with food, water and a military escort. The evacuation of the Christian prisoners was certainly not a simple or quick task. One can perhaps date to these months of "liberation" the only two burials of

[13] EUSEBIUS 1955, ch. 8.1, cf. PEACOCK 1995 with further references. The fact that the authorities could afford to renounce on so much labour, together with the size of settlements around the caves, gives an idea of the number of miners/convicts that were working on the mountain.

[14] BOWMAN 1986, pp. 46-47.

Fig. 92. Luxor, Temple of Amun. Detail of the tetrarchic fresco in the apse; the hand is holding a twig of an olive tree.

Fig. 93. Venice, Piazza San Marco. The tetrarchs sculpted in porphyry, from the honorary columns of Constantinople (see S50 and C2).

Fig. 94. Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile. Tetrarchic acephalous statue wearing a chlamys, the hand ready on the sword (see S47).

Fig. 95. Berlin, Bode-Museum. Tetrarchic acephalous statue wearing a chlamys, the hand ready on the sword (see S45).

Fig. 96. Luxor, Temple of Amun. Frescoes in the apse depicting four characters with aureolas.

Fig. 97. Paper drawing reconstructing the scene of the military tetrarchic fresco in the Temple of Amun at Luxor.

Fig. 98. Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine. Icon of Saint Peter on wood with an image, on the left, of young Christ with a yellow aureola, 6th century.

Fig. 99. Rome, Albano Catacomb of Saint Senatore. A fresco image of a young boy (Christ?) with a yellow aureola, 3rd/4th century.

Fig. 100. Rome, Albano Catacomb of Saint Senatore. A frescoed wall depicting Christ (centre) between the Four Crowned Martyrs.

Fig. 101. Luxor, Temple of Amun. Frescoes in the apse depicting four characters with aureolas, the Four Crowned Martyrs.

Fig. 102. Rome, Basilica of the Santi Quattro Coronati, crypt. The sarcophagi of the Four Crowned Martyrs in Egyptian Porphyry (see S1 and S2).

Fig. 103. Rome, Fiorentini Collection. An oval in Red Porphyry, representing the Four Crowned Martyrs (see R37).

Christian workers in the various graveyards on Mons Porphyrites,[15] where the tomb inscriptions could finally include the symbols of the workers' faith.

Activity in the quarries did not stop even though it was drastically reduced. The last emperor to be buried in Porphyry in 457 was the Byzantine Marcian, but it is possible that the block of Porphyry used for his coffin was one that had been extracted tens of years before.

Over the centuries to follow, the Christian presence in the area changed from being a forced one to an intentional one and the Mons Porphyrites region remained home to the poorly documented anchorites and hermitages. In particular, John Moschos, a Byzantine monk who lived between the sixth and seventh centuries, states in the *Pratum Spirituale*, that in about 620 a certain Abbot Zosimus settled in "Porphyrite" with his disciple John and there met two hermits by the names of Theodore and Paul.[16] Thebes was undoubtedly the first large city that the Christian ex-prisoners arrived at on their road to freedom and was probably where they gathered, thereby forming the first Christian community. We should return for a moment to the Temple of Amun to look closely at the paintings in the apsidal niche where the tetrarchs are depicted. Recent Italian restoration[17] has revealed details that leave one, to say the least, perplexed about this identification:

1. The tetrarch on the right holds an olive branch (symbolising peace) in his hand (fig. 92), whereas normally tetrarchs were depicted with their hand resting on the hilt of their sword, in readiness to draw it, as can be seen in the celebrated Porphyry statues in Venice (fig. 93), the tetrarch in Ravenna (fig. 94) or the one in Berlin (fig. 95), but also those in Capua and Istanbul;
2. the figures of the tetrarchs in the fresco have clearly visible aureolas (fig. 96), where normally the emperors would not even have a hint of one;
3. a fifth character, depicted with a smaller-sized bust and also with aureola, has been revealed in the centre of the composition, positioned between the two central tetrarchs[18] (fig. 97).

These iconographic characteristics lead one immediately to think of Christian images. Furthermore, the small bust in the centre of the scene reminds one of the image of Christ in the encaustic icon with the portrait of Saint Peter, located in Saint Catherine's monastery in Sinai (fig. 98), or of the one in Albano, Rome (fig. 99).

The first Christians who arrived in Thebes from the quarries and who were assembled in the Temple of Amun for a hearing will have been outraged to find themselves being received in the *sacellum* where the four portraits of the tetrarchs, their bitter enemies and tormentors, were still to be seen.

It is very likely that the survivors from the quarries, after heated protests, requested that the images of the tetrarchs be replaced (precisely because there were four tetrarchs) with four victims of the persecution that had been carried out by these very tetrarchs. This all leaves the author to believe that the martyrs we see today in the apse are the Four Crowned Martyrs. The hagiographic tradition concerning these martyrs is very confusing and controversial (fig. 100). The *communis opinio* is that there were five (!) Pannonian stonecutters, killed by order of Diocletian, who were then confused with four Roman *cornicularii* (army officers, from where the word "crowned" derives), killed two years afterwards on the Via Labicana, later buried and recognised as martyrs by Saint Sebastian and Pope Miltiades. The present Basilica of the Santi Quattro Coronati on the Caelian Hill in Rome was consecrated in the sixth century and the bodies of saints were only transported there under Leo IV in 851.

The most extensive hagiographic account of their martyrdom can be found in a Latin *passio*, probably from the sixth century,[19] where the oldest codes date back to the eighth century, which is transcribed (and evidently reworked) by a certain Porphyrius;[20] the full version of this *Passio* is reproduced in this book (pp. 65-68) with an English translation (our version, pp. 69-72). Incidentally, the Latin version of the *Passio* has various linguistic features that lead one to believe that it was originally written in Greek. According to Porphyrius's transcript, Diocletian visited several quarries in Pannonia and found four skilled workers there, who proved to be particularly skilful in sculpting the marble of the "porphyritic mountain that is known as igneous" (see *Passio*, para. 4 (our version). The four men were Christians and they converted a colleague and friend, Simplicius, to Christianity. Later in the narration, the four, together with Simplicius, suffered martyrdom for having refused to sculpt a statue of Asclepius: Diocletian ordered them to be enclosed in lead coffins and thrown into the river. Now, this story has created much confusion amongst scholars - apart from the mention of a fifth martyr - above all due to the setting in Pannonia. The region in general lacks quarries, let alone Imperial Red Porphyry,[21] and, consequently, there is no reason to believe that Diocletian even went there to personally visit and inspect the mining production. Moreover, there are no records of Christians having been condemned to forced labour in Pannonia.

If, however, as other scholars have already suggested in the past, the story is transposed to the Thebaid quarries in Egypt, many elements start to fit together. Firstly, the name of the mountain: the only known mountain by the name of Mons Porphyrites or

[15] Cf. Peacock 1995; Romeo, De Biasio 2004, p. 118.
[16] Cf. Gnoli 1971, p. 126 n. 1; Romeo, De Biasio 2004, p. 118.
[17] Restoration work was carried out by Luigi De Cesaris in 2008-2009.
[18] Cf. Del Bufalo 2010, p. 233.
[19] Amore 1968, pp. 1276-1286.
[20] See Peacock 1995.
[21] Cf. Damjanoviç 2009; Peacock 1995.

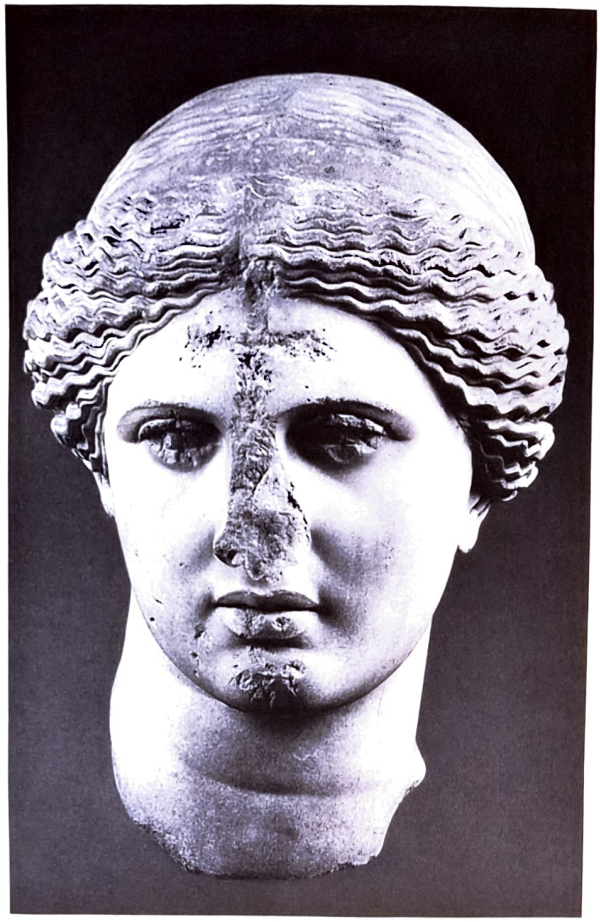


Fig. 104. Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Head of a divinity, exorcised with a cross sculpted on her forehead by Greek early Christians.

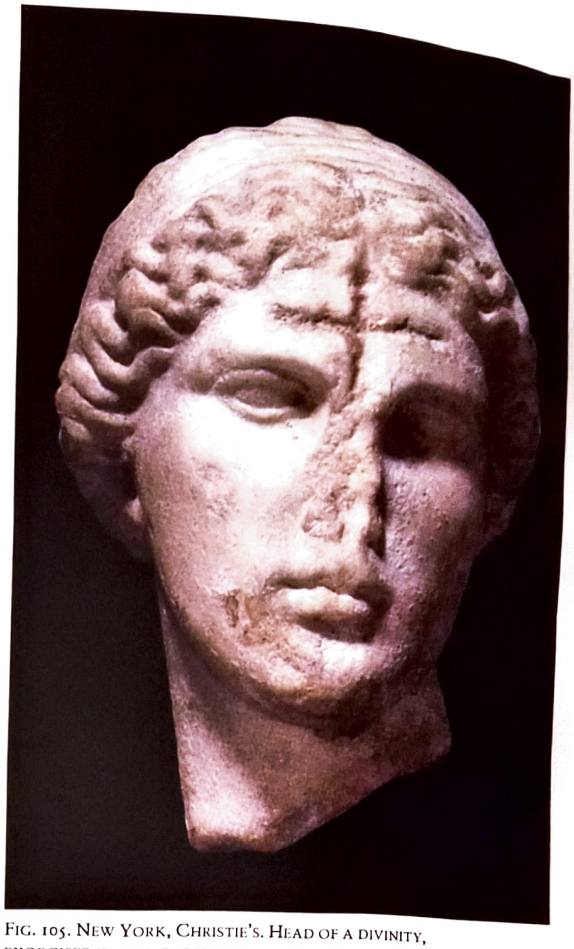


Fig. 105. New York, Christie's. Head of a divinity, exorcised with a cross sculpted on her forehead by Roman early Christians.

Mons Igneus is Gebel Abu Dukhan. Secondly, we know for certain that Diocletian visited the Thebaid region on various occasions (perhaps the only emperor to have done so) and his love of Red Porphyry is also wellknown. The presence of Christian prisoners has already been discussed and of the possible activity of proselytism, with the subsequent violent repression by the authorities. Furthermore, as we have seen, specifically on Gebel Abu Dukhan precise and unambiguous traces of both sculptural activity in the marble quarries, as well as its extraction, exist. This specific practice of marble extraction would legitimise the hagiographical historical account of four sculptors having worked in such a site. The author's impression is that Porphyrius was a secondary writer who wanted to transpose the story in an area (Pannonia) which was evidently linked to some personal interest (perhaps he himself was Pannonian?).

Leaving aside the anachronisms and the novel-like elements of the *passio*, it is by now certain that the Four Crowned Martyrs were actually Christian confessors and good stonecutters who were *damnati ad metalla* on Mons Porphyrites in the Thebaid region. These four craftsmen openly and consistently professed their faith during their imprisonment - perhaps even converting others - and were martyred for this. The fame of their martyrdom must have spread rapidly through the Christian communities (the fact that in the year 324 Constantine the Great mapped out the perimeter of Constantinople on 8 November, specifically on the feast day of the Four Crowned Martyrs, is perhaps more than just a coincidence) and the memory of them must have been particularly alive and venerated in the community which they themselves had been part of: that of the *damnati ad metalla*.[22]

The images of the four emperors depicted in the fresco of the Temple of Amun at Thebes were replaced by these local favourites, the Four Crowned Martyrs, who will have been known personally, during the imprisonment in the Porphyry quarries of Mons Porphyrites, to more than one member of that Christian community (fig. 101).

It is significant that the remains that lie in the crypt of the Basilica of the Santi Quattro Coronati are preserved in Porphyry chests

[22] The exact date when the Four Martyrs became the patrons of the Guild of Stonemasons and Woodworkers is unknown, but it is without doubt very early.

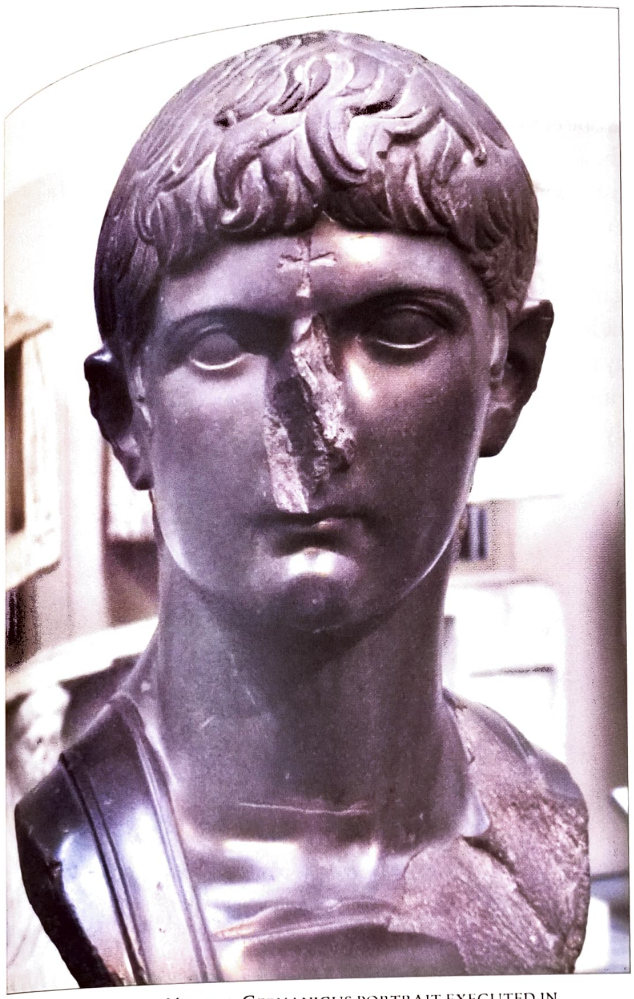


Fig. 106. London, British Museum. Germanicus portrait executed in Egyptian Bekhen stone (Egyptian greywake or green basanite), exorcised with a cross sculpted on his forehead by Roman early Christians.

Fig. 107. Naples, National Archaeological Museum. Tomb of Roger I: in order to reuse a Roman sarcophagus the face of Medusa was exorcised by resculpting it with a Holy Cross.

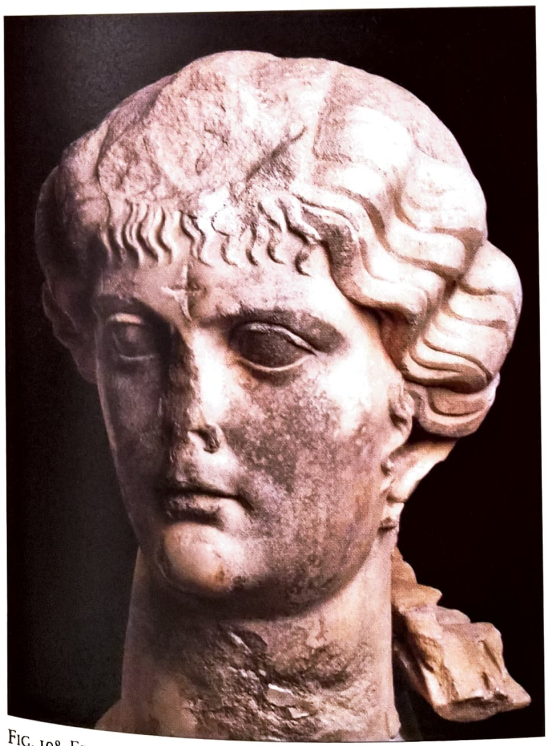


Fig. 108. Ephesus, National Archaeological Museum. Bust of Livia, exorcised with a cross sculpted on her forehead by Greek early Christians.

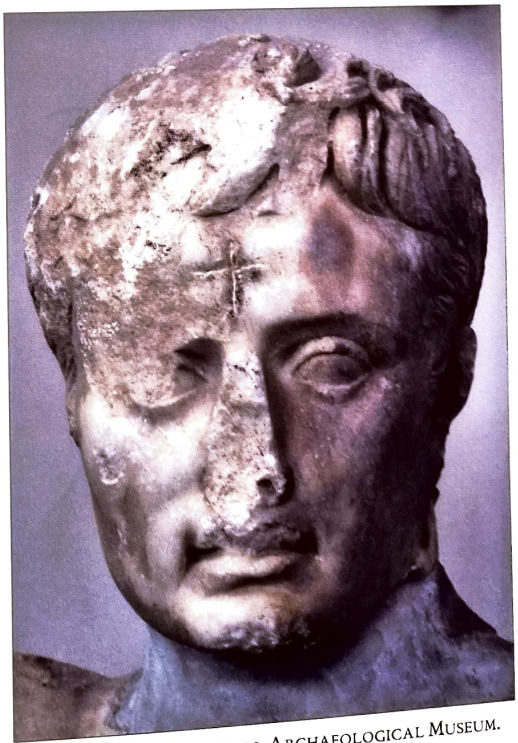


Fig. 109. Ephesus, National Archaeological Museum. Head of Augustus, exorcised with a cross sculpted on his forehead by early Christians.

(fig. 102), actually ancient Roman thermal baths: the hagiographic tradition that linked their martyrdom to this material was still very alive in the Church of the ninth century, when Leo IV spent much energy and money to procure baths made specifically of expensive Egyptian Porphyry (fig. 103).

The reuse and reinterpretation of the Roman iconography is one of the important facts of the transition from pagan to Christian Rome. The replacement of the paintings of Thebes, with the *damnatio memoriae* of the persecutors, can probably be dated to the months immediately following the liberation and the establishment of the Christian community in this border city, and it fits in well with the rapid process of Christianisation, which, over the space of a few decades, would lead to the proclamation of Christianity as the state religion (Edict of Theodosius in AD 380). From the outset, the fate of much pagan art was marked, victim of an exaggerated reaction to centuries of intolerance. All pagan images were systematically destroyed and, where they could not be destroyed, a violent *damnatio memoriae* was carried out; some icons were saved because they were "Christianised" and exorcised with the symbol of the cross (figs. 104–109). In a similar way to the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Campidoglio, which was never destroyed or recast due to it being interpreted as a portrait of Constantine, father of the Church, other pagan works of art were saved because they were mistakenly believed to belong to the Christian tradition and to the victory of Christianity over paganism.

Repertory of Porphyry Works

Statuary

S1. Falcon Horus

Height *c.* 11 cm.
Egypt, Ptolemaic period, 2nd century BC.
New York, Metropolitan Museum,
inv. no. 66.99.146.
PROVENANCE: Egypt; acquired by the Fletcher Fund and the Guide Foundation Inc.; donated in 1966.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

S2. Canopus

Height *c.* 9.5 cm.
Egypt, Ptolemaic period, 2nd century BC.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Ancient Resource auction house, Los Angeles, sale 15 November 2009, lot 3.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

S3. Fragment of Egyptian Queen

Height *c.* 28 cm.
Egypt, Ptolemaic period (2nd century BC) or Roman archaistic.
Paris, Louvre, Department of Egyptian Antiquities, inv. no. AF 12 417.
STATE OF CONSERVATION: the ancient torso was repolished in the 18th century.
PROVENANCE: unknown. The provenance cited by Delbrueck (acquired in Rome by Desmarets for the "musée des Antiques") could not be verified. Hieroglyphics on reverse.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 45-46, no. 3; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 82.

S1.

S4. Statuette of Harpocrates

Height *c.* 14 cm.
Egypt, late Ptolemaic period, 1st century BC.
USA, Ann Arbor, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, inv. no. 7023.
The deity is depicted in his characteristic pose, with the right arm bent on his chest and the index finger on his chin.
PROVENANCE: Carthage.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, p. 194, no. C5; TRAM TAN TINH, JAEGER, POULIN 1981, IV, 1, p. 428, no. 185.

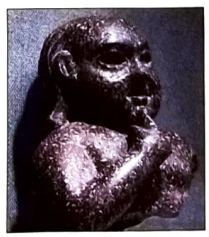
S5. Cloaked Bust of Harpocrates (?)

Height *c.* 17 cm.
Egypt, late Ptolemaic period, 1st century BC.
Foggia, Civic Museum, inv. no. 73 OR 62.
PROVENANCE: Ortona.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

S6. Statue of Bes

Height 71.5 cm; with the support 126.5 cm.
2nd century.
Palermo, Regional Archaeological Museum "Antonino Salinas", inv. no. 5629.
It could be the same piece that is described by Winckelmann as "an Egyptian figure of an animal with a chimera head, transported from Rome to Sicily" (ed. Meyer, III 130).
PROVENANCE: unknown, acquired in Rome in 1751 by the Jesuit priest, Giuseppe Maria Gravina; it was part of the Salnitriano Museum Collection.
LITERATURE: *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* 2005, pp. 717-718, no. 332, fig. 47.332; *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, p. 304, no. 5; GREGAREK 1999, pp. 194, no. C3; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 81, pl. 5; WINCKELMANN 1808-1817, III, p. 130.

S2.


S4.

S6a.

S3.

S5.

S6b.

S7. Statue of Bes

Height *c.* 70 cm.
Hadrianic age (?).
Rome, Villa Torlonia Museum, inv. no. 20.
PROVENANCE: *Portus*, presumably from the area near the Serapeum.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, pp. 193-194, no. C2; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 81-82, pl. 29; VISCONTI 1883, I, p. 14, no. 20, II, pl. 5.

S8. Statuette of Serapis

Height *c.* 24 cm.
Last quarter of the 2nd century.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.1-1919.
The statuette depicts Serapis seated and is in the style of Bryaxis. According to Hornbostel, the head in Oxford could be related to the statuette.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, pp. 69-70, no. A26; HORNBOSTEL 1973, p. 96, fig. 47, pl. XXXI; KATER-SIBBES 1973, p. 160, no. 838; VERMEULE 1955, p. 141, no. 4.

S7.

S8.

S9. Archaistic Female Torso

Height *c.* 80 cm.
Hadrianic-Antonine age.
Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, inv. no. A 262, and Glyptotek, Munich.
In the photograph reported here, the head from the Munich Glyptotek, inv. no. 174, has been photographically mounted on the (pertinent) body that is in the Hermitage.
PROVENANCE: from the Laval Collection, acquired in 1752.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, p. 192, no. B61; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 80-81, pl. 28.

S10. Statue of Minerva

Height *c.* 210 cm.
1st-2nd century. Erika Simon dated it to the Domitian age, whilst Delbrueck had suggested dating it to the Hadrianic age.
Rome, Piazza del Campidoglio.
PROVENANCE: discovered in Cori before 1591.
LITERATURE: ENSOLI 1994, pp. 120-124; KOCH 1994, p. 207, no. 64; *Lexicon Iconographicum...*, II, 1, 1984, p. 1093, no. 275; HELBIG 1963-1972, II, p. 7, no. 1163; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 69-70, pl. 18; SCHNEIDER 1887, p. 121.

S9.

S11. Citharoedus Fragment

Height *c.* 130 cm.
1st-2nd century.
Rome, Capitoline Museum, atrium of Palazzo Nuovo, inv. no. MC0056.
PROVENANCE: the statue was discovered at the base of the steps of the Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

S10.

S11.

where it was possibly positioned in 1692. It was noted by Johan Georg Keyssler in 1730 and placed in the Capitoline Museum in 1818.
LITERATURE: LUCCI 1964, p. 243; BOCCONI 1950, p. 56, no. 15; DELBRUECK 1932 p. 49, pl. 6; STUART JONES 1912, p. 38, no. 37, pl. 8.

S12. Statue of a Togaed Figure

Height *c.* 250 cm.
First half of the 2nd century; von Heintze backdates it to the Claudian age whilst Kähler, Calza and most recently L'Orange attribute it to the tetrarchic age.
Roman Forum, inside the Curia.
PROVENANCE: found during excavations of the area behind the Curia (5 July 1937), lying on the ancient floor pavement, see S12b.
LITERATURE: GOETTE 1990, p. 132, no. 35, pl. 18.1; KLEIN 1988, p. 62, no. A12; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 100; IACOPI 1974, pp. 59-61, fig. 59; CALZA 1972, pp. 108-109, pl. XV, 40; BARTOLI 1947, pp. 85-100; CALZA 1946-1947, pp. 185-191; LUGLI 1940, p. 67.

S13. Statuette of Athena

Height *c.* 63 cm.
2nd century.
Italy, private collection.
The goddess Athena is portrayed with the aegis (the *gorgoneion* is clearly visible on her chest) and wearing a robe that envelops her breast and right arm. It could be the same statuette that Delbrueck included amongst those that were lost and that was once located in Paris.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, p. 274, no. N18; GIULIANO 1993, pp. 95-102; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 132.

S14. Statuette of a Deity

Height *c.* 70 cm.
2nd century, replica of the Hellenistic original.
Florence, Uffizi Gallery, inv. no. 579 (Palazzo Vecchio?).
PROVENANCE: it has been in storage in the Commune of Florence since 1876
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, p. 179, no. B2; MANSUELI 1958, I, p. 174, no. 155, fig. 158; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 75, pl. 25.

S15. Female Torso

Height *c.* 82 cm.
Porphyry body from the 2nd century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 165.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, London, 8 July 2003; formerly Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., London, Mentmore Sale, 1977, from the Earls of Rosebery Collection at Mentmore Towers, Buckinghamshire.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri* 2012, p. 39, no. I.3.

S12a.

S12b.

S14.

S13a.

S15.

S13b.

S16. Statue of Dace

Height *c.* 220 cm.
2nd century.
Florence, Boboli Gardens.

PROVENANCE: former Valle-Capranica Collection.
LITERATURE: DE LACHENAL 1991, photograph no. 201; SCHNEIDER 1986, p. 185, n. 1365, no. 11b, p. 189, n. 14; WAELKENS 1985, p. 648, no. 43; PINKERNEIL 1983, pp.173, 187 ff., 331-332, no. 60, tab. 8; GUERRIERI, CHATFIELD 1972, p. 40, figs. 30-32; ZANKER 1970, p. 511, n. 36; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 46-49 A, pl. 4; DÜTSCHE 1875, p. 34, no. 69.

S17. Statue of Dace

Height *c.* 220 cm.
2nd century.
Florence, Boboli Gardens.

PROVENANCE: former Valle-Capranica Collection.
LITERATURE: DE LACHENAL 1991, photograph no. 200; SCHNEIDER 1986, p. 185, n. 1365, no. 11b, p. 189, n. 14; WAELKENS 1985, p. 648, no. 44; GUERRIERI, CHATFIELD 1972, p. 40, figs. 30-32; ZANKER 1970, p. 511, n. 36; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 46-49 B, pl. 4; DÜTSCHE 1875, p. 34, no. 70.

S16a.

S18. Legs of a Togaed Figure

Height *c.* 80 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.

PROVENANCE: Rome, antiquities market (A. Turchi).
LITERATURE: unpublished.

S16b. TURKEY, IZMIR, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

S17.

S19. Fragment of a Statue of Dace

Height *c.* 135 cm; width *c.* 90 cm.
2nd century.
Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure, inv. no. 74.

PROVENANCE: former Valle-Capranica Collection.
LITERATURE: *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, p. 333, no. 31; DE LACHENAL 1991, photograph no. 202; SCHNEIDER 1986, p. 185, n. 1365, no. 11b; WAELKENS 1985, p. 648, no. 45; BARTOLI, MASER 1953, p. 5; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 46-49; REINACH 1902, p. 130, pl. 61.

S16c. FROM THE *CODEX BEROLINENSIS*.

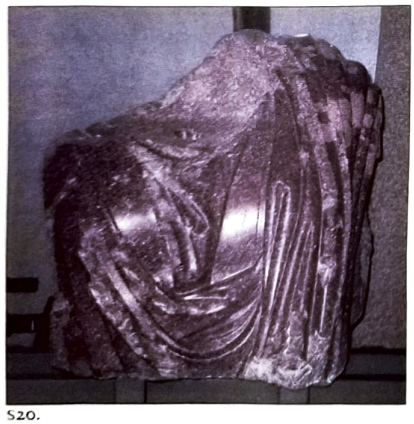
S18.

S20. Togaed Torso

Height *c.* 75 cm.
2nd century.
Rome, Vatican Museums, Gregorian Profane Museum, inv. no. 729.

PROVENANCE: for Benndorf and Schöne, the torso comes, together with three other fragments in the museum (inv. nos. 731; 732; 734), from the foundations of the Arch of Constantine (according to information provided by Vasi and Nibby). The inventory of the Lateran Museum does not give any provenance.
LITERATURE: LUCCI 1964, p. 249, n. 75; HELBIG 1963-1972, p. 817, no. 1137; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 56-58, pl. 12; BENNDORF, SCHÖNE 1867, p. 321, no. 457.

S19.


S20.

S21. Togaed Torso

Height *c.* 100 cm.
Hadrianic-Antonine age.
Rome, Vatican Museums, Gregorian Profane Museum, inv. no. 731.

PROVENANCE: from the Roman Forum, from near the Arch of Septimius Severus (1836). For Benndorf and Schöne, the torso comes, together with three other fragments in the museum (inv. nos. 729; 732; 734), from the foundations of the Arch of Constantine (according to information provided by Vasi and Nibby). The inventory of the Lateran Museum does not give any provenance.
LITERATURE: L'ORANGE 1984, pp. 108-109; CALZA 1972, pp. 130-131, pl. XXX, 81; KÄHLER 1964, p. 11, pl. 12; LUCCI 1964, pp. 249-250; HELBIG 1963-1972, I, p. 817, no. 1137; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 56-58, pl. 12.

S21.

S22.

S22. Togaed Torso

Height *c.* 82 cm.
Hadrianic-Antonine age.
Rome, Vatican Museums, Gregorian Profane Museum, inv. no. 732.

PROVENANCE: from the Roman Forum, from near the Arch of Septimius Severus (1836). For Benndorf and Schöne, the torso comes, together with three other fragments in the museum (inv. nos. 729; 731; 734), from the foundations of the Arch of Constantine (according to information provided by Vasi and Nibby). The inventory of the Lateran Museum does not give any provenance.
LITERATURE: L'ORANGE 1984, pp. 108-109; CALZA 1972, pp. 130-131, pl. XXX, 81; LUCCI 1964, pp. 249-250; HELBIG 1963-1972, vol. I, p. 817, n. 1137; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 56-58, pl. 12.

S23. Togaed Torso

Height *c.* 88 cm.
Hadrianic-Antonine age.
Rome, Vatican Museums, Gregorian Profane Museum, inv. no. 734.
According to Delbrueck, this fragment of a togaed statue could belong to the restored torso believed to be Moses, in the grotto of the Pitti Palace in Florence.

PROVENANCE: for Benndorf and Schöne, the torso comes, together with three other fragments in the museum (inv. nos. 729; 731; 732), from the foundations of the Arch of Constantine (according to information provided by Vasi and Nibby). The inventory of the Lateran Museum does not give any provenance.
LITERATURE: GOETTE 1990, p. 132 no. 41, pl. 18, 7; LUCCI 1964, p. 249, n. 75; HELBIG 1963-1972, I, p. 817, no. 1137; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 56-58, pl. 12.

S23.

S24. Loricate Torso

Height *c.* 105 cm.
First half of the 2nd century.
Rome, Vatican Museums, Gregorian Profane Museum, inv. no. 10480.

PROVENANCE: found in 1862 during excavations in a vegetable garden, near the Hospital of San Giovanni in Laterano, between the roads Via di Santo Stefano Rotondo and Via della Ferratella.
LITERATURE: STEMMER 1978, p. 118, no. XIIa3, pl. 79.3; LUCCI 1964, p. 246; HELBIG 1963-1972, I, p. 817, no. 1137; VERMEULE III 1959-1960, p. 54, no. 177; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 50-51, pl. 7.

S24.

S25.

S25. Statue of Apollo Citharoedus

Height *c.* 200 cm; from the shoulder to the foot, *c.* 162 cm.
Late Hadrianic-Antonine age.
Naples, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 6281 (old inv. no. 212b).

STATE OF CONSERVATION: the white marble restoration was carried out by Carlo Albacini in Rome after 1790.
PROVENANCE: at the beginning of the 16th century, it was located in Casa Sassi. In 1546, it went into the Palazzo Farnese antiquities collection and in 1790, it was located in Naples.
LITERATURE: *Palazzo Farnese...* 2010, p. 319; GASPARI 2009, pp. 105-107, no. 46, pl. XCIII, 1-5; *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, p. 299, no. 1; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 62-66; RUESCH 1908, pp. 188-189, no. 707; ALDROVANDI 1562, p. 147.

S26. Statue of Minerva, Known as Roma

Height *c.* 147 cm; width *c.* 83 cm; depth 90 cm. The Porphyry part goes back to the Roman Empire (Hadrianic age). Delbrueck dates it slightly later to the Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius period.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 341.

PROVENANCE: Mazarin Collection. The statue was purchased by the Cardinal in 1646 for 900 scudi from Antonio Della Cornia (and was in Cardinal Richelieu's inventory until 1643). It could be the Porphyry statue of the *Seated Roma* found between 1644 and 1645 in the garden of the Church of S. Martino ai Monti, recorded by Pietro Santi Bartoli.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 117-118, no. 32; GREGAREK 1999, p. 186, no. B39; KOCH 1994, p. 199, no. 41; CHARBONNEAUX 1963, p. 101, no. 1056
DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 70-71, pl. 19.

S27. Female Acephalous Statue

Height *c.* 180 cm.
Delbrueck dates both the head and the body to the Hadrianic age. After a 4th-century BC original.
London, British Museum
(inv. no. 1947,1229.2).
Ashmole hypothesises that the head of Minerva and the body of Juno could have belonged to a Porphyry group portraying the Capitoline Triad.

PROVENANCE: from Potsdam, Schloss Glienicke, to where it was taken from Italy at the beginning of the 19th century; formerly in London, Bagshot House. Acquired by the museum in 1942.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, p. 186, no. B40 (head), p. 189, no. B51 (body); VERMEULE, VON BOTHMER 1956, p. 323; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 73-74, pls. 21-23; SMITH 1911, pp. 107-111, fig. p. 64.

S26.

S27.

S28. Statue of Praying Empress

Height *c.* 222 cm.
2nd century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 67.

STATE OF CONSERVATION: the restoration goes back to 1627, when the white marble head, a hand and fragments of the robe, were repaired.

PROVENANCE: Guglielmo and Tommaso della Porta Collection. In 1609, it entered into the Borghese Collection. It was initially in the Borghese Palace at Ripetta and subsequently located in the Villa on the Pincian Hill (1627). Acquired on 27 September 1807 and transported to Paris on 24 June 1808.

LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 56-58, no. 10; WINCKELMANN 2003b, p. 185; KALVERAM 1995, pp. 198-199; CHARBONNEAUX 1963, p. 101, no. 2226; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 74, pl. 24; SCHNEIDER 1887, p. 121.

S29. Statuette of a Goddess

Height *c.* 61 cm.
3rd century.
Cairo, Museum, inv. no. 27463.

PROVENANCE: unknown.

LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, pp. 192-193, no. B63; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 84-85, fig. 30.

S30. The So-Called Tyche of Antioch

Height *c.* 80 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
New York, private collection.

Professor Giuliano reports that the white statuary marble head of this Tyche is located in the Ny Carlsberg in Copenhagen and confirms its authenticity, as we do too.

PROVENANCE: antique dealer Regoli, in Norcia (1960s); put up for auction at Antonina where it remained unsold; subsequently Regoli sold it to the antiquarian Venanzio Turchi, believing it to be the work of a forger such as Gildo Pedrazzoni or Sernicoli, known as "Bibitone"; then purchased from the antiquarian Codara in Pavia and ultimately acquired here from Borowsky. It remained unsold at Christie's New York, in the sale of 4 June 2008, as it was not considered to be an antique.

LITERATURE: KOCH 1994, p. 204, no. 57c; KLEIN 1988, p. 67, no. A21; LUCCI 1964, p. 271, n. 154f.

S31. Togaed Torso

Height *c.* 152 cm.
Trajan age.
Rome, Capitoline Museum, atrium of Palazzo Nuovo, inv. no. MC2099.

PROVENANCE: situated at the foot of the steps of the Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli until 1818.

LITERATURE: GOETTE 1990, p. 132, no. 42, pls. 18.8, 94.5; BOCCONI 1950, p. 54, no. 6; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 49, pl. 5; STUART JONES 1926, p. 35, no. 18, pl. 14.

S32. Acephalous Togaed Statue

Height *c.* 180 cm.
Early 2nd century.
Florence, National Archaeological Museum, premises in the Villa Corsini a Castello, inv. no. 90307.

PROVENANCE: Della Valle-Capranica Collection. Ulisse Aldrovandi recounts that a Porphyry statue was located in Palazzo Valle-Capranica in Rome, in the 1500s. From 1584, the collection was converged with that of Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici. The statue however was not in the 1788 inventory, when the collection was moved from Villa Medici to Florence. It was conserved in the Opificio delle Pietre Dure until 1943.

LITERATURE: *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, p. 330, no. 29; KREIKENBOM 1992, pp. 248-249, no. V 25; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 54-55, pl. 11; ALDROVANDI 1562, p. 217.

S28.

S29.

S30.

S31.

S32a.

S32b. FROM THE *CODEX BEROLINENSIS*.

S34a.

S34b. FROM THE *CODEX BEROLINENSIS*.

S35a.

S35b. FROM THE *CODEX BEROLINENSIS*.

S33.

S33. Togaed Torso (Moses)

Height preserved part *c.* 170 cm.
2nd century.
Florence, Grotto of Moses (Pitti Palace).

STATE OF CONSERVATION: the torso down to the knees is authentic. The modern parts, also in Porphyry, are by Raffaello Curradi (before 1636). The head and the lower section of the arm were produced separately from the body.
PROVENANCE: unknown, presumably Rome.
LITERATURE: *Palazzo Pitti...* 2003, p. 488, no. 8; GOETTE 1990, p. 132 no. 37, pl. 18.3; SOLDINI 1976, pp. 11-13; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 56, pl. 11; INGHIRAMI 1828, p. 8.

S34. Statue of Dace

Height *c.* 240 cm.
2nd century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 332.
The head has been restored and is by Pietro Bernini (17th century).

PROVENANCE: in the *Codex Berolinensis* by Dosio, presumably it was in Palazzo Savelli. In the 17th century, it was located in Villa Borghese. Probably from Trajan's Forum.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 48, no. 5; DE LACHENAL 1987, p. 101; CHARBONNEAUX 1963, p.100, no. 1381; DELBRUECK 1932, pp.43-46, pl. 3a.

S35. Statue of Dace

Height *c.* 240 cm.
2nd century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 331.

PROVENANCE: cited by Dosio (*Codex Berolinensis*), presumably it was in Palazzo Savelli. In the 17th century, it was located in Villa Borghese. Probably from Trajan's Forum.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 48-51, no. 6; DE LACHENAL 1987, p. 101; CHARBONNEAUX 1963, p. 100, no. 1385; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 43-46, pl. 3b.

S36. Fragment of a She-Wolf

Height *c.* 41 cm; length 97 cm.
2nd century.
Florence, Uffizi Gallery.

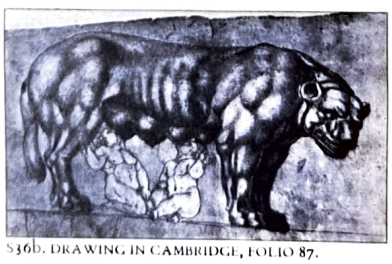
PROVENANCE: Della Valle Collection (it was found together with the twins in the courtyard of Palazzo Del Bufalo-Della Valle in Rome), it did not go to Villa Medici, but directly to Florence, where it was noted by Vasari. Believed to be lost, Delbrueck recognised it in the Opificio delle Pietre Dure, where it had arrived as rough material to be cut and reused.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 58-60, fig. 11, pl. 14; ALDROVANDI 1562, p. 214.

S37. Votive Right Foot (?)

Length *c.* 89 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
London, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (inv. no. R 578/1936) on loan to the University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

PROVENANCE: Deepdene (Vermeule 1955, p. 141); previously in the Besborough and Hope Collections.
LITERATURE: HAUSMANN 2000, pp. 235-272; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 68-69, p. 71, fig. 21

S36a.



S36b. DRAWING IN CAMBRIDGE, FOLIO 87.

S38. Loricate Torso

c. 87 x 47 x 27 cm; height original 130 cm (3/4 of life-size).
3rd-4th century.
Turin, Antiquities Museum, Collections section, inv. no. 272.
Delbrueck has identified this statue as an emperor from the Constantinian period.

PROVENANCE: from Egypt, it was part of the Drovetti Collection from 1821.
LITERATURE: MERCANDO 1989, p. 40, fig. 48; L'ORANGE 1984, pp. 138-139; CALZA 1972, pp. 332-333, no. 238, pl. CXVI, figs. 424-425; NIEMEYER 1968, p. 101, no. 69; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 106-108, 110-111, fig. 38, pl. 48.

S39. Loricate Torso

Height *c.* 111 cm.
3rd-4th century.
Rome, Vatican Museums, Gregorian Profane Museum, inv. no. 10484.

PROVENANCE: it was situated in Palazzo Farnese in Rome until the 16th century. In 1804, it was acquired by the sculptor Carlo Albacini and exhibited in the Chiaramonti Museum. Before being exhibited in the Gregorian Profane Museum, it was situated in the Borgia Apartments.
LITERATURE: *Costantino il Grande...* 2005, p. 284, no. 122; HELBIG 1963-1972, I, p. 817, no. 1136; VERMEULE III 1959-1960, pp. 73-74, no. 325; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 101-103, pl. 44; BENNDORF, SCHÖNE 1867, p. 352, no. 496.

S37.

S38.

S40. Acephalous Togaed Statue

Height *c.* 140 cm.
L'Orange has suggested that it depicts a commemorative image of Constantine from the (early) 4th century. However Delbrueck dates it to the Diocletian period (late 3rd century), a hypothesis that is also accepted by Calza, Bergmann and subsequently by Goette. Late 3rd-early 4th century.
Berlin, Altes Museum, inv. no. Sk 527.

PROVENANCE: the piece comes from Venice, where it was probably transported from the East. It was located in the Sanssouci Palace in Potsdam until 1854.
LITERATURE: GOETTE 1990, p. 140, no. 180; L'ORANGE 1984, pp. 69, 120, pl. 47c; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 99-100, pls. 42-43.

S39.

S40.

S41. Seated Togaed Statue

Height *c.* 245 cm; width shoulder *c.* 130 cm.
3rd-4th century.
Caesarea Maritima.

PROVENANCE: discovered by chance during an excavation campaign in 1950 at Caesarea in Palestine, between the hippodrome and the walls of the Crusader city, in a courtyard of a 6th-century Byzantine building.
LITERATURE: KREIKENBOM 1992, p. 250, no. V 29; GOETTE 1990, p. 154 no. 31, pl. 66.2; KLEIN 1988, pp. 61-62, no. A11; LUCCI 1964, p. 270, n. 154a.

S41.

S42. Acephalous Statue of Diocletian

Height *c.* 308 cm.
Diocletian age.
Alexandria, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 5934.
Delbrueck suggested that the figure portrayed a tetrarch and he favoured Diocletian.
PROVENANCE: Alexandria, Italian Consulate, opposite El Attarin Mosque.
LITERATURE: *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, pp. 562-563, no. 218; GOETTE 1990, p. 155, no. 35; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 69, pl. 46a.b; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 96-98, pls. 40-41.

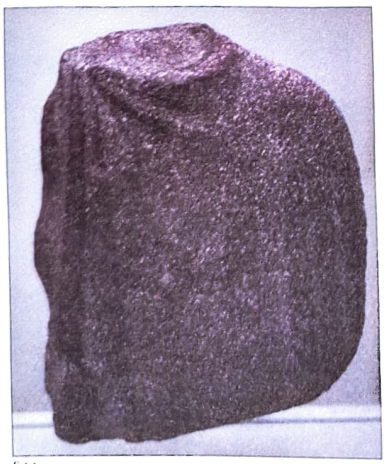
S43. Togaed Torso

Height *c.* 91 cm.
Diocletian age.
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1174.
It is part of an enthroned statue, replica of the one in Alexandria. The way that the abdomen protrudes seems to indicate that this important fragment comes from a seated statue. In its general arrangement, the drapery offers an analogy with and, in some details - in particular the fold of the chiton on the chest -, is identical to, the statue in the museum in Ghiza. It would seem, therefore, that it was imported from Egypt. Delbrueck retains that this torso is a smaller replica of one portraying Diocletian in Alexandria.
PROVENANCE: unknown, in the museum from August 1901. From 1837, it was reported to be in the mosque of Bayazid Yildirim at Edirne (the old Hadrianopolis), by Helmuth Moltke: "In a corner, like a corner stone next to the door, I found a torso, togaed chest and body of a colossal statue cut in superb white-veined, Red Porphyry; maybe of Emperor Hadrian, that the sultan had thrown there". One could speculate as to it being the fragment that A. Dumont describes: "The only Roman marble that the inhabitants show us is a worthless fragment of a statue".
LITERATURE: GOETTE 1990, p. 155, no. 36; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 96; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 98-99, fig. 36; MENDEL 1914, pp. 423-424, no. 652; MOLTKE 1877, pp. 121-122.

S44. Fragment of a Statue

Height *c.* 40 cm.
4th century.
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
It is the upper part of a tetrarchic statue, possibly portraying an emperor.
PROVENANCE: from excavations during extension work on the museum.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

S42.


S44.

S43a.

S43b.

S45a.

S45b. CAPUA, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

S45. Acephalous Statue Wearing a Chlamys

Height *c.* 96 cm.
4th century.
Berlin, Bode-Museum, Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6128.

PROVENANCE: from Alexandria, discovered in the garden of the German Consulate in 1908 and purchased in 1909. The head in the Del Buffalo Collection, Rome (see S45c), may pertain to this torso as it was found in the same area of the city of Alexandria.
LITERATURE: EFFENBERG 2006, pp. 28-29; *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 64, n. 1, fig. 26; *Pergamon und...* 1990, pp. 114-115, no. 6; L'ORANGE 1984, pp. 129-130; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 104-106, 110-111, fig. 37, pl. 47; WULFF 1909, pp. 307-308, no. 1624.

S45c. ROME, DEL BUFALO COLLECTION. SEE ENTRY H34.

S46.

S46. Torso with Chlamys

Height *c.* 47 cm.
4th century.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. I 685.

PROVENANCE: from Egypt, Alexandria. In 1851, the statue entered, as a gift from the Austrian Consul-General to Alessandria Von Laurin, into the Egyptian collection; then part of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico's Collection in Miramare. It was purchased by the Viennese Museum in 1891.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 64, n. 4; *Aurea Roma...* 2000, p. 561; CALZA 1972, p. 298 no. 16, pl. CIII, fig. 370b; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 108-111, figs. 39-40.

S47.

S48a.

S47. Acephalous Statue Wearing a Chlamys

Height *c.* 144 cm.
Late 4th century, but the stylistic characteristics are very close to those of so-called Theodosian classicism.
Ravenna, Archiepiscopal Museum.

PROVENANCE: Ravenna, it was found in the gardens of the Archbishopric in 1644; the right hand was found by chance in the River Santerno, near Imola, in 1869.
LITERATURE: *Costantino il Grande...* 2005, pp. 282-283, no. 119; DEICHMANN 1989, p. 331; LUCCI 1964, pp. 264-265; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 111-114, figs. 41-43, pls. 50-51.

S48. Two Fragments of a Draped Statue

MA 5130: height *c.* 90 cm; MA 5131: height *c.* 81 cm.
4th-5th century.
Paris, Louvre.

STATE OF CONSERVATION: one of the two fragments has a cut of about 20 cm as the inventory taken during the Napoleonic period includes only one of the two pieces and is defined as "lost, it can no longer be used as material", it can be assumed that the cut was made after 1807.
PROVENANCE: unknown, it appears in the Louvre inventory from 1807.
LITERATURE: *Costantino il Grande...* 2005, p. 283, no. 120; *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 63-65, no. 14.

S48b.

S49. Groups of Tetrarchs on Columns

Height *c.* 53 cm.
Late 3rd-early 4th century.
Rome, Vatican Museums, Library.
According to Delbrueck, they portray the two groups of tetrarchs depicting the emperors of the first tetrarchy: Diocletian-Maximian and Constantius I-Galerius. See also entry C3.

PROVENANCE: Rome, commissioned by Diocletian probably for the Temple of the Sun built during Aurelian's rule.

LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 44, fig. 65; *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 36, fig. 12; L'ORANGE 1984, pp. 99-100; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 91-93, fig. 34, pls. 35-37.

S49a.

S49b.

S50. Groups of Tetrarchs

Height *c.* 155 cm.
4th century.
Venice, Piazzetta San Marco, corner of the Ducal Palace.

PROVENANCE: from the honorary columns of the *Philadelphion* in Constantinople (Istanbul). The fragment of the lost foot, found in the 1970s, is now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (see S50d and entry F68). Also see entry C2.

LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 46, fig. 65; *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 34-35; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 103; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 84-91, pls. 31-34.

S50a.

S50c.

S50b.

S50d. ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. FRAGMENT OF A FOOT FROM THE VENETIAN GROUPS.

S51. Statuette of Asclepius

Height *c.* 43 cm.
Early 4th century.
Niš, National Museum, inv. no. 985/R.
The base bears a Greek inscription over four lines with a dedication to Asclepius. The dedicators are Rhoimetalkes from Tracia and his wife, Philippa. It was produced, together with the base, from a single block.

PROVENANCE: from the 1972 excavations of the Imperial Palace in Mediana in the suburbs of Niš.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, p. 172, no. A11; SREJOVIĆ 1993, p. 247, no. 80; KLEIN 1988, pp. 71-72, no. A31.

S50c. ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

S53.

S52. Statuette of Hygieia

Height *c.* 49 cm.
4th century.
Niš, National Museum, inv. no. 986/R.
The front face of the base bears a four-line inscription dedicated to Hygieia. The dedicators are the same as for the one on the statue of Asclepius, but Riometalkes's name has been erased.

PROVENANCE: from the 1972 excavations of the Imperial Palace in Mediana in the suburbs of Niš.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, p. 190, no. B56, fig. 48; SREJOVIĆ 1993, p. 248, no. 81; KLEIN 1988, pp. 71-72, no. A31.

S53. Sphinx

Unknown.
Ancient (?).
Lost, once in Berlin.

PROVENANCE: Italy.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 78, fig. 27.

S54. Statue of Egyptian Priest

Height 80 cm, approximately of life-size dimensions.
2nd century.
Lost, once in Venice, Naniano Museum.
Hooded head.

STATE OF CONSERVATION: upper part without arms.

PROVENANCE: discovered in Matharea, near Cairo in 1760; in the Pinelli Library in 1787; in the Naniano Museum after 1815.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 82; SCHNEIDER 1887, p. 113; WINCKELMANN 1808-1817, III, pp. 361, 451.

S55. Statue of Minerva

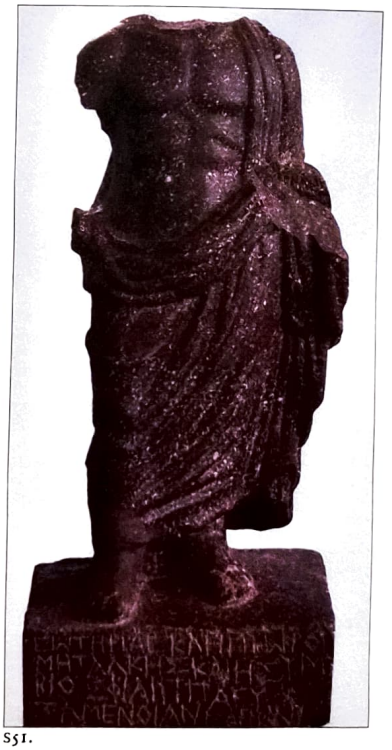
Unknown.
2nd century.
Lost.
Female statue depicting Minerva with white marble head and feet.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Villa Medici; conserved in the Opificio delle Pietre Dure until about the mid 19th century.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 132; ZOBI 1853, p. 118.

S56. Statue of Diocletian

The upper part of the thigh was about 160 cm long, with a total height of about 7 m.
Diocletian age.
Paris (?).

PROVENANCE: Alexandria, from Pompey's Column. Found at the foot of this column in the second half of the 18th century.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 100-101.



S51.

S52.

S57. Twelve Statues / Lost

Unknown.
4th century.
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople, Forum of Constantine.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 118.

S58. Statues from the Senate / Lost

Unknown.
Unknown.
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 118.

S59. Statue of Helen / Lost

Unknown.
Unknown.
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople, the old Hagia Sophia.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 118.

S60. Seated Statue / Lost

Unknown.
Unknown.
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 118.

S64.

S61. Statuette / Lost

Unknown.
Unknown.
Unknown; once in Paris, Louvre, Salle de Diane.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 132.

S62. Female Statuette / Lost

Unknown.
Unknown.
Unknown; once in Paris.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 132.

S63. Group of Two Children / Lost

Unknown.
Unknown.
Unknown; Madrid (?).
Delbrueck notes that the she-wolf in Florence is missing the two twins and how interesting it would be, according to this historian, if they were part of this statuary group.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 132.

S65.

S64. Venus and Cupid

Height *c.* 26 cm.
Pier Maria Serbaldi da Pescia, also known as il Tagliacarne (Pescia *c.* 1455 / after 1522).
Florence, Pitti Palace, Museo degli Argenti, inv. no. Sculture 1914, 1067.
Signed in Greek on the pillar: *Petros | Ma | rias | epoie*.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 96-97, no. 25.

S65. Statue of Justice

Height *c.* 240 cm.
1569-1580, based on the model by Bartolomeo Ammannati realised by Francesco and Romolo Ferrucci del Tadda over a period of eleven years of work.
Florence, Piazza Santa Trinita.
PROVENANCE: (six) archaeological fragments from Rome assembled with pivots; Medici commission for the city of Florence.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 93-94; BUTTERS 1996, pl. XLVII.

S66. Sleeping Cherub

Length *c.* 55 cm.
17th century. By Tommaso Fedeli after a model by Duquesnoy.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 246.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, New York, 27 January 2006.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri 2012*, p. 91, no. II.61.

S66.

S67. The Young Saint John

Height *c.* 68 cm.
17th century, Tommaso Fedeli (?).
Venice, Archaeological Museum Storerooms, inv. no. 341.

PROVENANCE: demolition of an 18th-century chapel, old fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

S68. Female Statue

Height *c.* 96 cm.
18th century.
Paris, Louvre, Department of Sculpture, inv. no. MR 1584.

PROVENANCE: confiscated from the Duc de Brissac in Paris, Rue de Grenelle, on the 8 Floréal Year II; storerooms in Rue de Beaune; Louvre (in 1824 in the Salle de Diane and therefore considered to come from the Borghese Collection); stored in Maisons-Laffitte from 1912 to 1986.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, pp. 150-151.

S69. Seated Roma

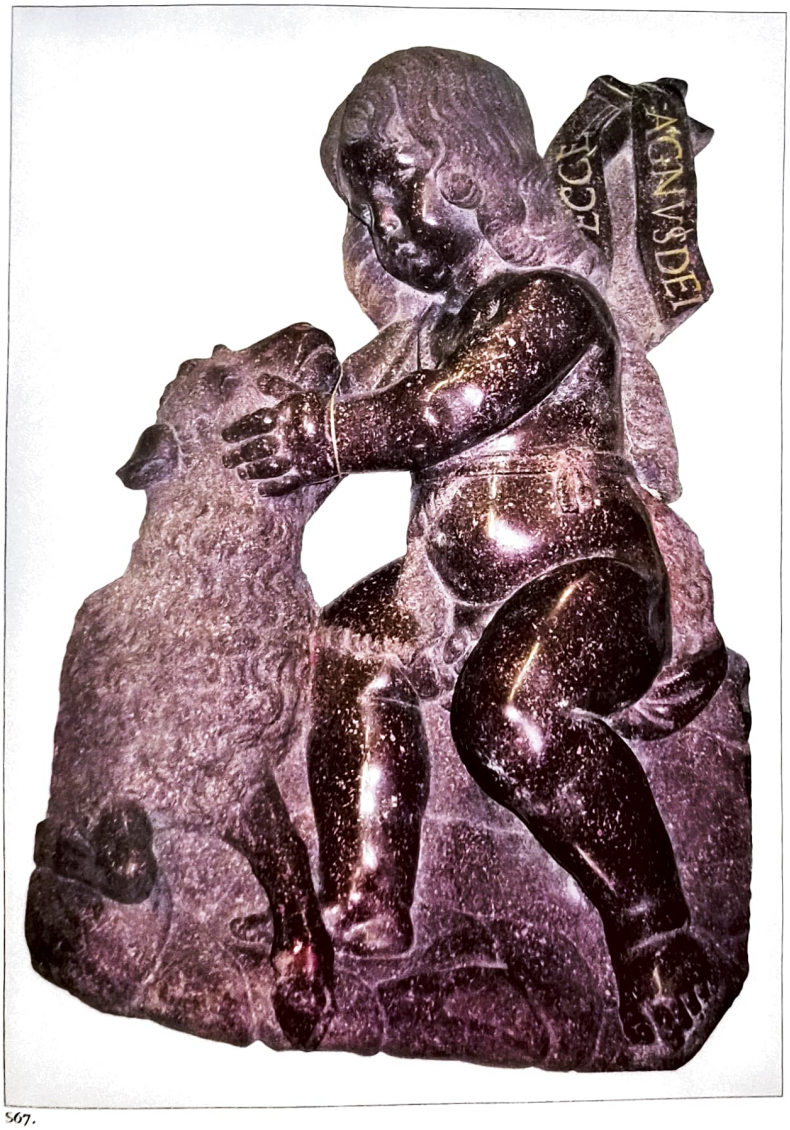
Height *c.* 46 cm.
1752.
Paris, Louvre, Department of Decorative Arts, inv. no. MR 399. Luigi Valadier (Rome 1726 - Rome 1785).
Red Porphyry and Chalcedony.

PROVENANCE: commissioned by Pius VI for the Vatican Museums; consigned in 1786 and in 1789 it was placed in the Profane Museum; sequestrated from the Vatican in 1798; in Paris in 1801; Louvre.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, pp. 178-180, no. 69.

S70. Cherub

c. 13 x 20 cm.
Work by Rigo Righi, 1920-1930.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.

PROVENANCE: Dreweatts auction house, Newbury, 17 June 2009, lot 87.
LITERATURE: unpublished.



S67.

S68.

S69.

S70.

S71. Loricate Statue

Height *c.* 134 cm.

Modern forgery. Pergola places the statue in the Severian period, more precisely stating that it is a portrait of Caracalla. On the contrary, it was realised in Rome in the 20th century from a column drum (note the exaggerated vertical proportion). Observe, too, the date "Febbraio 1974" in the photographs, with the statue still hanging in the lewis in the sculptor's workshop.

Bologna, Unicredit Bank (former Banca di Roma) branch of Via Ugo Bassi.

PROVENANCE: Christie's, Rome, 30 October 1973 (lot 177); acquired by Dr Osio on behalf of Banca Romana.

LITERATURE: *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, p. 331, no. 30; VERMEULE 1978.

S71a.

S72. Small Egyptian Bust

Height *c.* 12 cm.

Modern imitation.

Rome, private collection.

PROVENANCE: antique market.

LITERATURE: unpublished.

S71b.

S71c.

S72a.

S71d.

S72b.

S71e.

Heads

H1. Egyptian Head

Height *c.* 15 cm.
9th–7th century BC.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, Paris, 20 December 2011; from the Pierre and Claude Vérité Collection acquired in the 1930s. One could hypothesise that it is the same head as the Egyptian-style one which was sold in Dresden at the Albertinum in 1873 (see entry H98).
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H2. Egyptian Head

Height 7.5 cm.
Greek-Roman period.
Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. no. E3406.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: PUTTER, KARLHAUSEN 1992, fig. 45.

H3. Egyptian Head

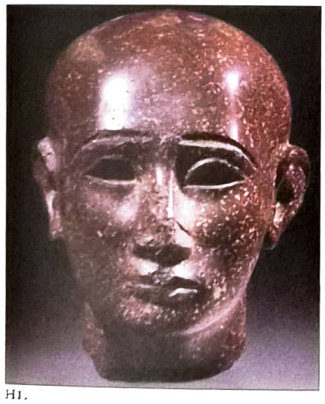
Height *c.* 21 cm.
Ptolemaic period.
UK, Richmond, Doughty House.
Possibly the head of a body in the Albani-Torlonia Collection, Rome.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 38, no. 6, pl. 1.

H4. Beardless Male Head

Height 16.5 cm.
Late Ptolemaic-Roman.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. 379.
PROVENANCE: private collection, published by Delbrueck in 1932; Sotheby's, New York, 7 June 2012.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 38, no. 7, fig. 3.

H5. Head of an Egyptian Lioness (Amenhotep?)

c. 16 x 14 x 13 cm.
1st-2nd century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 256.
Despite its provenance, the work finds no similarities in Egyptian art and the fragment seems closer to the Roman style. The smooth reverse leads one to believe that the head has been detached from the trapezophoros of a sarcophagus.
PROVENANCE: Karnak, 19th-century excavations.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri* 2012, p. 85, no. II.50.

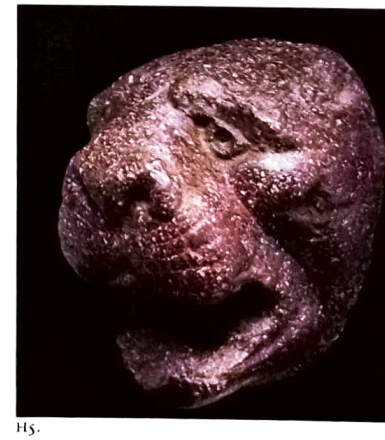

H1.

H2.

H3.

H4a.

H4b.

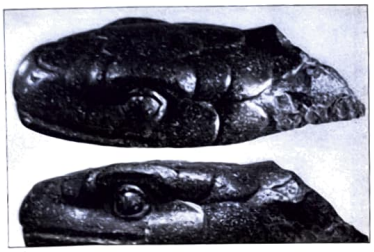

H5.

H6. Head of a Serpent

Length *c.* 22 cm.
2nd century.
Paris, Hayford Peirce Collection.
PROVENANCE: Egypt or Rome.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 413, no. 3; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 175, fig. 7.

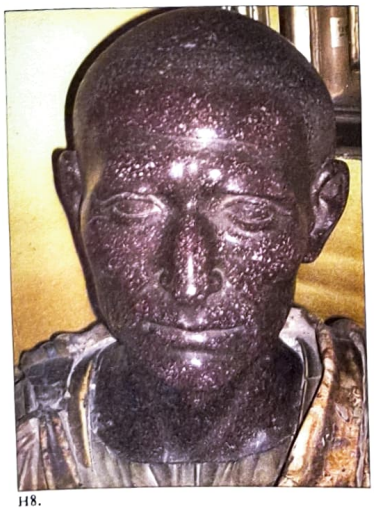
H7. Portrait of a Prince

Height *c.* 28 cm.
Augustan age.
Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, inv. no. 59/55.



H6.

H7.



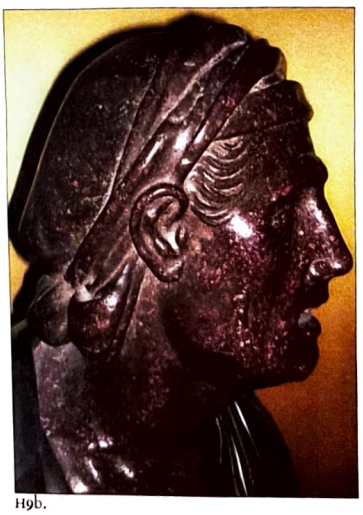
H8.

Portrait of a young man, who bears similar stylistic features and hairstyle to that of the young Augustus in the Vatican. According to Thimme and Kiss, it portrays Gaius Caesar, one of Augustus's two nephews designated to succeed him. Lucci and Zweifel, on the contrary, believe it to be a depiction of Augustus himself.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market, acquired by the museum in 1959 from a private collection in Tegernsee.
LITERATURE: BREUER 2001, pp. 151-152, no. 137; KLEIN 1988, pp. 55-56, no. A1; LUCCI 1964, p. 271, n. 154d.

H8. Male Head

Height *c.* 30 cm.
First Empire, repolished (?).
Rome, Doria Pamphilj Gallery, the Yellow Room.
Portrait of a man of about forty years old. The short, military-style haircut suggests it to be from the late Republican or early Augustan age. The prized material and Egyptian provenance have led some to believe it to depict the First Prefect of Egypt, Cornelius Gallus, based on the numerous portraits of him. There are, however, no supporting elements for the identification of this character. The short hair has stylistic similarities with other heads, including a marble head conserved in the Louvre (M 2264).
PROVENANCE: Villa Doria Pamphilj.
LITERATURE: CALZA 1977, pp. 270-271, no. 327, pl. CLXXV; ADRIANI 1970, pl. 51.3; LUCCI 1964, p. 240; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 41-42, pl. 2; MATZ, DUHN 1881-1882, vol. I, p. 510, no. 1979.

H9a.



H9b.

H9. Head of an Old Woman

Height *c.* 31 cm.
2nd century, after a Hellenistic original.
Rome, Doria Pamphilj Gallery.
The head was conceived to be inserted onto a bust made of a different coloured material. It is currently mounted on a modern bust.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: CACIOTTI, PALMA VENETUCCI 2002, p. 72, c. 1269, no. 113; GREGAREK 1999, p. 274, no. N29; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 75, pl. 26; *EA* 2326/27.

H10. Head of Minerva

Height *c.* 45 cm.
Dated to the Hadrianic period by Delbrueck.
Unknown (?).
The head was found inserted onto the body of a female deity in the British Museum (inv. no. 1947,1229.2). Ashmole had hypothesised that the body, identified as Juno, and the head of Minerva, both belonged to a porphyritic group depicting the Capitoline Triad.
PROVENANCE: formerly London, Bagshot House and Potsdam, Schloss Glienicke.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, p. 186, no. B40; VERMEULE, VON BOTHMER 1956, p. 323; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 73-74, pls. 21-23; SMITH 1911, pp. 107-111, p. 64.

H10.

H11. Head of Hadrian

Height *c.* 40 cm.
First Hadrianic period.
London, British Museum (from *c.* 1950), inv. no. 1950, 1104.1.
Portrait of the Emperor Hadrian attributable to the "Chiaramonti 392" typology. The rear part of the neck bears the words "Venezia 1876".
PROVENANCE: unknown, antiquity market.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 56, no. A2; KISS 1984, p. 60; LUCCI 1964, p. 271, n. 154c; WEGNER 1956, p. 64, p. 101; *FA* 1950, p. 311, fig. 80, p. 312, no. 3638.

H 12. Head of Serapis

Height *c.* 12 cm.
2nd century (reworked).
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 1955.333.
PROVENANCE: from the excavations of a Roman Britain cemetery in Highworth, Wiltshire, carried out by A. D. Passmore in 1933. Passmore, however, claimed that the head would have only arrived in Britain in the 18th century. Hornbostel forwarded the hypothesis that the head may belong to a statuette of Serapis in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, pp. 203–204, no. C57; KLEIN 1988, pp. 68–69, no. A24; HORNBOSTEL 1973, p. 96, n. 1, pl. XXXII, fig. 48; KATER-SIBBES 1973, p. 160, no. 837; HARRIS 1965, pp. 77–78.

H11.

H13. Fragment of a Bearded Male Head

Height *c.* 21 cm.
1st century.
New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 19.192.90.
PROVENANCE: Rogers Fund, 1919.
LITERATURE: *Age of Spirituality*... 1977.

H14. Female Head

Height *c.* 28 cm.
Roman copy dating to the mid 2nd century from an early 5th-century BC original.
Munich, Glyptothek, inv. no. 174.
PROVENANCE: inserted with the diction "idol of Porphyry" in a list of sculptures acquired in Rome in 1567; until *c.* 1930 located in the *Antiquarium* of the Residenz. The body is conserved in the Hermitage.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 81, pl. 28.

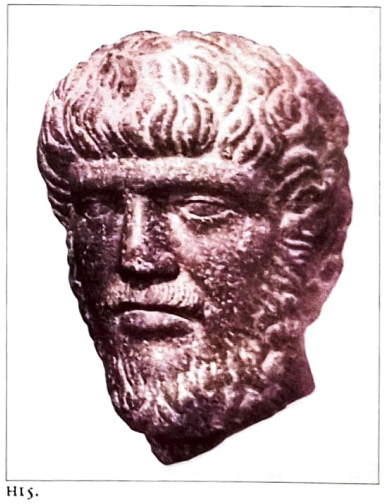
H15. Male Portrait

Height *c.* 21 cm.
2nd century.
Stockholm, Hägglöf Collection.
The fracture at the nape leads one to believe that it must have been part of a relief. According to Sjöqvist and Westholm, it probably represented Lucius Verus. Brendel and Wegner, on the other hand, doubt its authenticity.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Via Casilina outside Porta Maggiore, found in 1931 during house demolition works.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, pp. 56–57, no. A3; *Opuscula Archaeologica* 1, 1935, pp. 42–46, pl. VIII.

H12.

H13.

H14.


H15.

H16. Head of Zeus

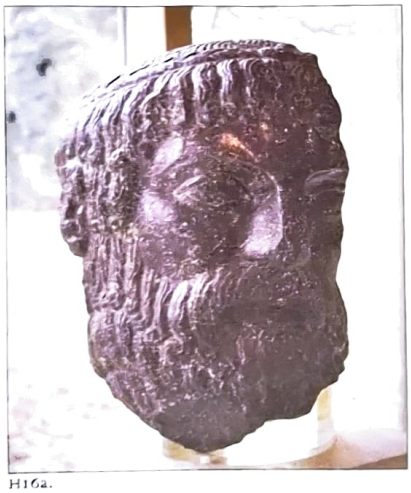
Height *c.* 38 cm.
The copy must have been made in a Roman workshop in archaic style in an unidentifiable period.
Glasgow, Burrell Collection.
A Roman copy of an austere depiction of Zeus, possibly located in the temple of Olympia.
PROVENANCE: unknown; Sotheby's, London, 17 April 1950.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, p. 178, no. A44, fig. 41; KLEIN 1988, p. 68, no. A23; Dörig 1975, pp. 15–22.

H17. Head from a *Labrum*

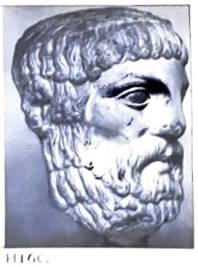
Height *c.* 53 cm.
2nd century.
Vicenza, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. EI 118.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Baths of Caracalla, discovered by Count Girolamo Egidio di Velo between 1824 and 1829.
LITERATURE: CADARIO 2010, pp. 87–97; AMBROGI 2005, pp. 413–414, no. 4; GHIRARDINI 7(1991), pp. 215–216; GALLIAZZO 1976, pp. 163–166, no. 43; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 190–191, pl. 82.

H18. Heads from a *Labrum*

Height *c.* 45 cm.
2nd century.
Naples, National Archaeological Museum, Farnese Collection, inv. no. 6021.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Baths of Caracalla.
LITERATURE: GASPARI 2010, p. 105, no. 37; AMBROGI 2005, pp. 182–187, no. L. 8; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 178–181, figs. 82–85, pl. 81.


H16a.

H16b.


H16c.

H19. Head of a Panther

Height 19.4 cm.
2nd century.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.6-1950, formerly Richmond, Doughty House.
Head of a panther, probably a decorative element of a piece of furniture.
PROVENANCE: donated by Dr W. L. Hildburgh.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 163, fig. 71.

H20. Head from a *Labrum*

Height *c.* 45 cm.
2nd century.
Geneva, Barbier-Mueller Museum, formerly Collection of the Prussian Princes, Schloss Glienicke, then former Collection R. Schmidt.
PROVENANCE: Palermo, Villa Altichiero.
LITERATURE: *Kunst der Antike...* 1967, p. 89, no. 231; RÁCZ 1965, no. 140; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 173, pl. 82.

H19.

H17.

H20.

H18a.

H18b.

H21. Head of Medusa from a Bath

Width *c.* 20 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
Head of Medusa that should be considered closely together with the Claudian granite head of Medusa situated on the fountain in Via di Villa Pepoli, that was discovered at the Baths of Caracalla and was part of a colossal bath.
PROVENANCE: Paris, antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H22. Male Head

Height 19 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 27.511.
The catalogue states that the head was presumably broken off from a sarcophagus.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: *Early Christian and Byzantine Art...* 1947, p. 25, no. 13.

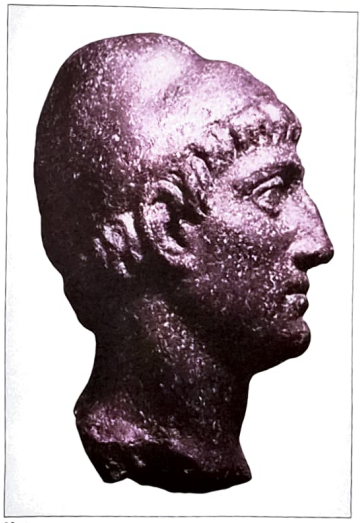
H23. Bust of Pertinax Caesar, So-Called "Aelius Verus"

Height *c.* 61 cm.
3rd century, reworked.
New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 19.192.91.
PROVENANCE: acquired from the Roman antiquarian, Jandolo, in 1919.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 133, pl. 55; ROBINSON 1913, p. 50 ff.

H24. Fragment of a Head

Height *c.* 13 cm; width 17 cm.
Tetrarchical age, end of the 3rd-beginning of the 4th century.
Belgrade, private collection.
The conserved part leads one to think of a tetrarchic image, also confirmed by the production style that is very close, both formally and stylistically, to the portrait of Athribis. Srejović believes it to be Licinius I or a private citizen of the same period; Kiss, on the other hand, is inclined to believe that it is of Galerius.
PROVENANCE: from Tekija in Serbia.
LITERATURE: SREJOVIĆ 1993, p. 231, no. 72; KLEIN 1988, p. 61, no. A10; *Anticki portret u Jugoslaviji...* 1987, p. 233, no. 221; KISS 1984, p. 96; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 99.

H21.


H22.

H23.

H24.

H25. Head of Diocletian

Height *c.* 22 cm.

Tetrarchical age, end of the 3rd-beginning of the 4th century.

Unknown, given as lost; formerly in the excavation storerooms in Antakya, inv. no. 118; according to von Sydow, it was on the antiquarian market in Beirut in 1940 but since then there has been no further notice of it.

The similarity of this head to that of Diocletian from Athribis is so very clear that one could believe it to be from the same workshop. H. Fuhrmann and R. Calza consider it a copy; D. M. Brinkerhoff on the other hand believes it to be Constantius Chlorus.

PROVENANCE: found in Antakya during the American expedition in 1934/35 in a courtyard of a villa located on the outskirts of the town (see H25b).

LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, pp. 57-58, no. A5; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 106; CALZA 1972, pp. 145-146, no. 56, pl. XXXVIII, nos. 107-108; LUCCI 1964, p. 270, n. 154b.

H26. Head of Galerius

Height *c.* 35 cm.

c. AD 300. The dating is complicated due to stylistic elements from the first tetrarchy (forehead and hair) and others from a later period (oval-shaped face). Nevertheless, the crown could be a reference to Galerius's triumphant victory over the Persians in AD 297 and to the tetrarchy triumph that was celebrated in Rome in AD 303.

Serbia, National Museum, Zajecar, inv. no. G/1477.

The head is part of a monumental statue or a group of figures that depict the triumphant emperor and it is presumably Victory who is crowning him; this can be deduced from the fragment of the hand that is still attached to the crown on the posterior part.

PROVENANCE: from Romuliana (Gamzigrad, Serbia), discovered in 1993 during the excavation of the thermal baths in the south-eastern area.

LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 44, fig. 66; SREJOVIĆ 1993, p. 232, no. 71; SREJOVIĆ 1992-1993, pp. 41-47; KLEIN 1988, p. 65, no. A16.

H27. Portrait

Height *c.* 17 cm.

Tetrarchical age (?).

Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, formerly in an American private collection (Mrs Hayford Peirce).

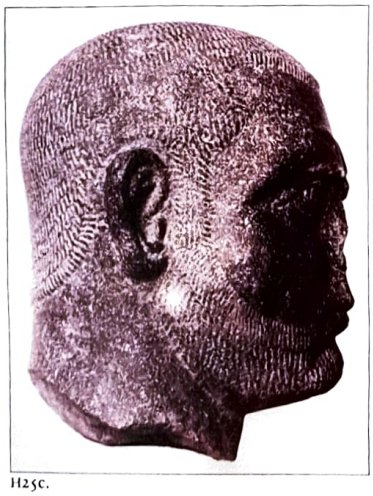
For Raissa Calza, it portrays a character from the tetrarchy period, with resemblances to Galerius. Kiss, however, believes it to be one of Constantine's sons, Constantine II or Constantius.

PROVENANCE: Egypt.

LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, pp. 59-60, no. A8; CALZA 1972, p. 146, no. 57, pl. XXXVIII, 109-110; LUCCI 1964, p. 271, n. 154c.

H25a.

H25b. ANTAKYA, VILLA COURTYARD.



H25c.

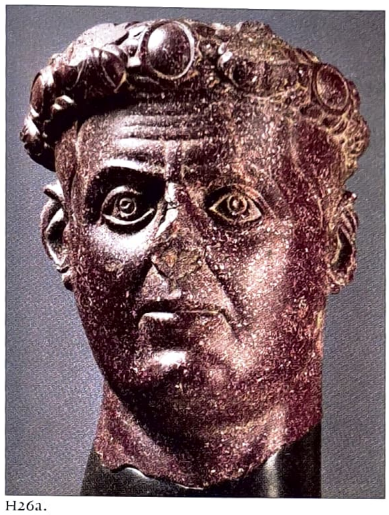
H25d. AUREUS WITH THE PORTRAIT OF DIOCLETIAN.

H28. Fragment of a Head

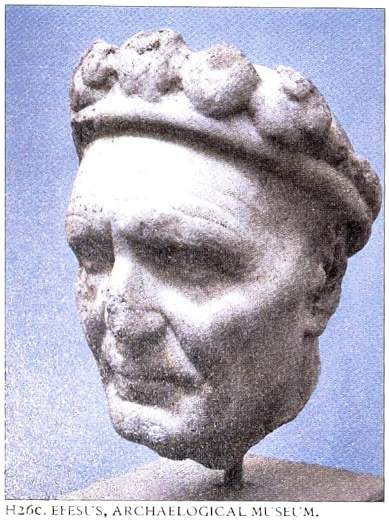
Height *c.* 17 cm.
Early 4th century.
Niš, National Museum, inv. no. 180/P.
The cylindrical headgear, known as the *pileus pannonicus*, is stylistically relatively close to the group of Tetrarchs in Venice. It has been identified as an emperor of the first tetrarchy (Constantius Chlorus for M. Grbić, Galerius for Srejović and Diocletian for W. von Sydow).
PROVENANCE: found in Niš.
LITERATURE: SREJOVIĆ 1993, p. 234, no. 73; KLEIN 1988, p. 60, no. A9; *Anticki Portret u Jugoslaviji* 1987, p. 232, no. 220; L'ORANGE 1984, pp. 98-99.

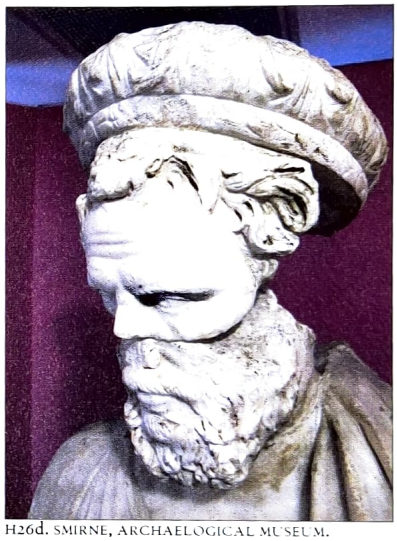
H29. Head of a Male Child from a Sarcophagus

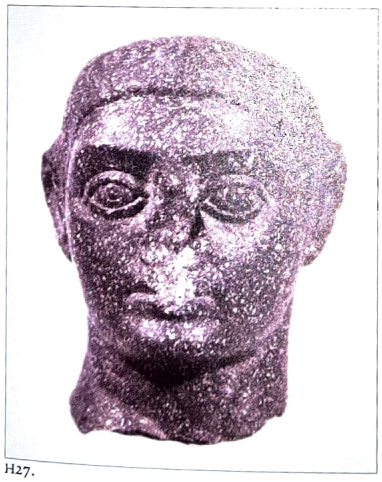
Height 8.5 cm.
Early 4th century.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 6129.
PROVENANCE: unknown; acquired in 1908 in Constantinople. In close relation with a fragment of Constantine sarcophagus in Istanbul (inv. no. 806); cf. with the small heads of cupids on the sarcophagus of Saint Constance in the Vatican Museums or the small head in the Civic Museum, Rieti, inv. no. 340.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 219, pl. 106.


H26a.

H26b.


H26c. EFESUS, ARCHAELOGICAL MUSEUM.


H26d. SMIRNE, ARCHAELOGICAL MUSEUM.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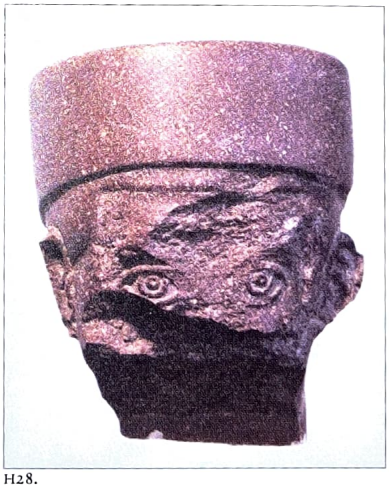
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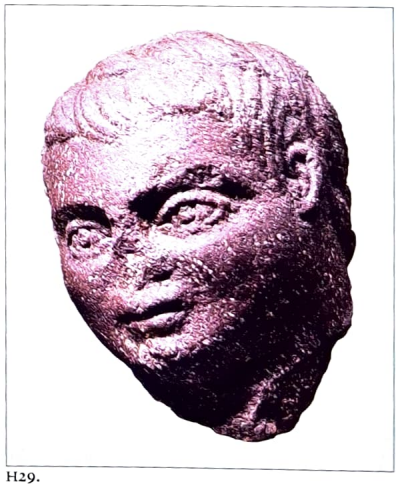

H29.

H30. A Small Head

Height *c.* 11 cm.
Early 4th century.
Rieti, Civic Museum, inv. no. 340.
The most pertinent comparison is with the cupids on the sarcophagus of Saint Constance; cf. also the small head in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 6129.
PROVENANCE: Boschi Collection.
LITERATURE: REGGIANI 1990, p. 54, fig. 66.

H31. Three Heads of Soldiers from a Sarcophagus

Height from *c.* 12 to 25 cm.
Early 4th century.
Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, set in the wall of the courtyard since 1690
The heads may come from a sarcophagus and depict young helmeted warriors, possibly from Galerius's army.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 216-218 A-B-C.

H30.

H31.

H32. Head of a Soldier from a Sarcophagus

Height *c.* 18 cm.
Early 4th century.
Florence, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 14062.
The head comes from a sarcophagus and depicts a young warrior with helmet, possibly from Galerius's army.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: CALZA 1972, pp. 203-204, no. 120, pl. LXVII, 227; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 216-218 D.

H33. Head of a Soldier from a Sarcophagus

Height *c.* 15 cm.
Early 4th century.
UK, Ince Blundell Hall.

H32.

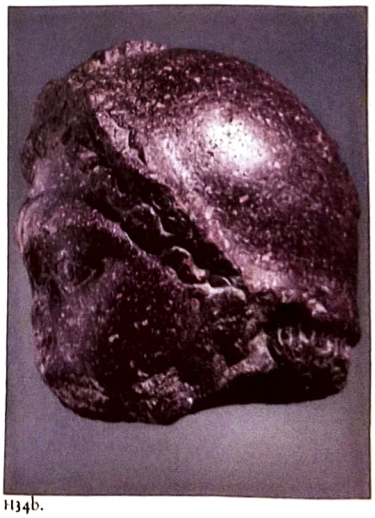
H33.

Delbrueck recognises it as an image of an emperor, possibly Licinius, from some of the decorative remains on the helmet. In actual fact, the young beardless face has been sculpted in a generic manner, without specific physical connotations.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: CALZA 1972, p. 203, no. 119; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 216-218 E.

H34. Head of a Male Wearing a Helmet

Height *c.* 18 cm.
Early 4th century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection, formerly Nussberger Collection.
It may pertain to the body conserved in the Berlin museum (see entry S45) because it was found in the same spot in Alexandria.
PROVENANCE: Egypt, Alexandria.
LITERATURE: *Costantino il Grande...* 2005, p. 285, no. 125; DEL BUFALO in *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, p. 354, no. 58.

H34a.


H34b.

H35. Head of a Young Man from a Sarcophagus

Height *c.* 11.8 cm.
4th century (?).
London, John Hugh Smith Collection.
PROVENANCE: presumably Rome; Lewes, E. P. Warren Collection, sold at auction in 1929 (cat. Sotheby's, London 27 May 1929, lot 83).
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 219-220, pl. 106.

H36. Head from a Sarcophagus

Height 9.4 cm.
Early 4th century.
Rome, Vatican Museums, Armour Storerooms, inv. no. 52132.
Possibly from the sarcophagus of Saint Helen.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: *Costantino il Grande...* 2005, p. 286, n. 127a ; KASCHNITZ WEINBERG 1937, p. 232, no. 541.

H37. Head

Height *c.* 19 cm.
Early 4th century.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A 102-1956.
From a high relief, possibly from the sarcophagus of Saint Helen, cf. with bearded head in the Dario Del Bufalo Collection, Rome (see the following entry).
PROVENANCE: Rome, bequeathed by Dr and Mrs W. L. Hildburgh who bought it in Rome and donated it to the museum in 1956.
LITERATURE: VERMEULE, VON BOTHMER 1956, p. 336.

H38. Bearded Head

Height *c.* 20 cm.
Early 4th century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection, formerly the Greco Collection.
From a high relief, presumably from the sarcophagus of Saint Helen (cf. Victoria and Albert Museum head, inv. no. A-102-1956, in the previous entry).
PROVENANCE: Rome, Casilina; produced in a workshop in Alexandria.
LITERATURE: *Costantino il Grande...* 2005, 285-286, no. 126; DEL BUFALO in *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, p. 353, no. 57.

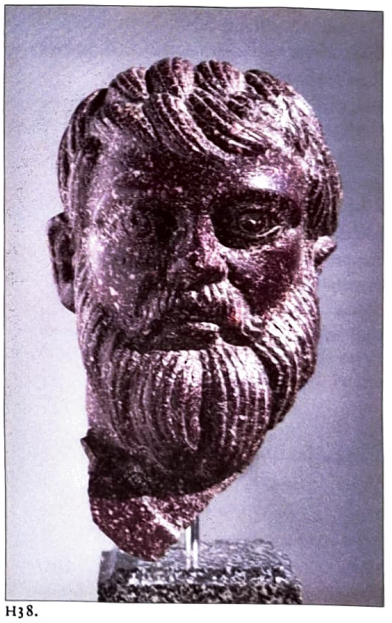
H35a.

H35b.

H36.

H37a.

H37b.


H38.

H39. Heads from a Sarcophagus Cover

Height *c.* 16 cm.
4th century.
Alexandria, Museum.
PROVENANCE: discovered in 1894 in an Arab bath.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 219, pl. 105.

H40. Head of a Young Man

Height *c.* 23 cm.
The crown on the head makes one think it comes from a workshop in the tetrarchy period but the facial features do not correspond to this hypothesis, reworked (?); 4th century with reworkings.
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
PROVENANCE: sold at auction.
LITERATURE: VICKERS 1992.

H41. Head of Serapis

Unknown.
Unknown.
Unknown, lost.
It was a small bust with the head of Serapis, wearing a fringe-type *kalathos*.
PROVENANCE: from the 19th century in Madrid, collection of Prince of Anglona.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, pp. 207, no. C91; KLEIN 1988, p. 69, no. A25; KATER-SIBBES 1973, p. 149, no. 798; HUBNER 1862, p. 253, no. 580 U33.

H42. Female Portrait

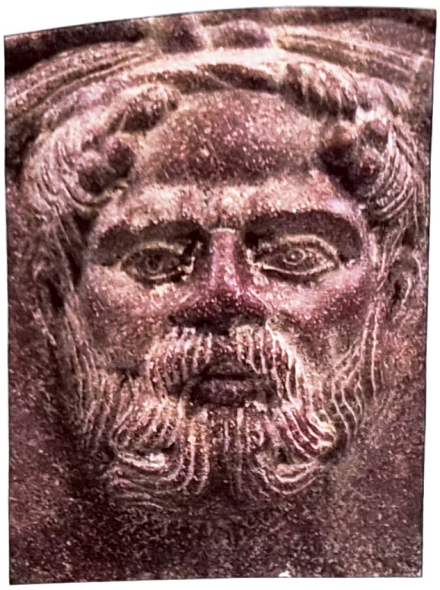
Height 18.5 cm.
Uncertain (2nd-4th century).
Unknown; stolen on 1 July 1982 from Federico Zeri's villa in Mentana.
PROVENANCE: Amsterdam, antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

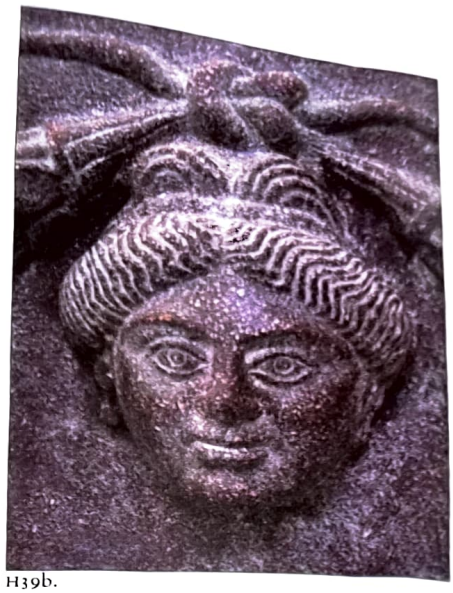
H43. Male Portrait

Height *c.* 14 cm.
Roman Empire (?).
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. no. 06226.
PROVENANCE: Haarlem, H. Burg Collection.
LITERATURE: MOORMANN 2000, pp. 206-207, no. 279, pl. 95b; PONGER 1942, p. 56.

H44. Justinian II, So-Called "Rhinotmetos"

Height *c.* 50 cm.
c. AD 700.
Venice, San Marco, on a balustrade of a terrace.
Portrait of Justinian II *Rhinotmetos* ("slit-nosed"). The identification of the character, apart from both the similarity to and the stylistic features of sculpture of this period, is by the fact that the nose is cut in the original sculpture (surface and patina) and not just accidentally broken and then restored and repolished. The resemblance to the Venetian captain of mercenary troops, Francesco Bussone, known as "Carmagnola", who was


H39a.


H39b.

H40.

H42.

H43.

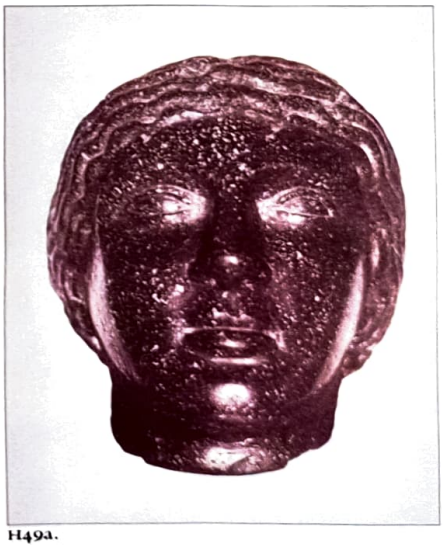
H44.

H45.

H46.

H47.

H48.



H49a.

H49b.

beheaded by the Venetians in 1432 on the charge of treason, has been noted. The head would have then been placed in a clear position as a warning to the Venetians.

PROVENANCE: Constantinople (Fourth Crusade).
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 53, fig. 85; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 119, fig. 48.

H45. Head of a Lion

Height 20.2 cm.
Late 12th century.
Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, inv. no. 53.6.

PROVENANCE: Palermo, presumably from the throne of Ruggero II.
LITERATURE: VIKAN 1995, p. 111.

H46. Head of a Lion

Height 19.8 cm.
Late 12th century.
Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, inv. no. 53.5.

PROVENANCE: Palermo, presumably from the throne of Ruggero II.
LITERATURE: VIKAN 1995, p. 111.

H47. Anthromorphic Head

Height 14 cm.
13th century.
Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, inv. no. 53.14.

PROVENANCE: Palermo, presumably from the tomb of Frederick II.
LITERATURE: VIKAN 1995, p. 111.

H48. Anthromorphic Head

Height 13.4 cm.
13th century.
Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, inv. no. 53.15.

PROVENANCE: Palermo, presumably from the tomb of Frederick II.
LITERATURE: VIKAN 1995, p. 111.

H49. Female Head

Height c. 18 cm.
First half of the 13th century.
Siena, Società delle Pie Disposizioni.

The small head, made known by Bertelli, has an archaic quality to it and leads one to date it to the first half of the 13th century.

PROVENANCE: Montepulciano, Bologna Collection.
LITERATURE: *Federico II*, 1995, p. 477, no. 5.14; BERTELLI 1982, pp. 30–43.

H50. Head of a Lion

Height *c.* 19 cm.
13th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 288.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 18 June 2008, sale no. 7561, lot 70.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri* 2012, p. 90, no. II.60.

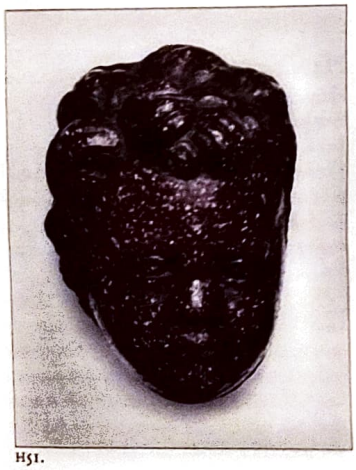
H51. Head of a Young Boy

Height *c.* 14 cm.
1550–1580, attributed to Francesco del Tadda.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.1-1924.
PROVENANCE: Florence.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H52. Head of Cicero

Height *c.* 50 cm.
16th century, probably a work by del Tadda.
Florence, Uffizi.
PROVENANCE: Florence.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 129, fig. 51, pl. 52.

H50.



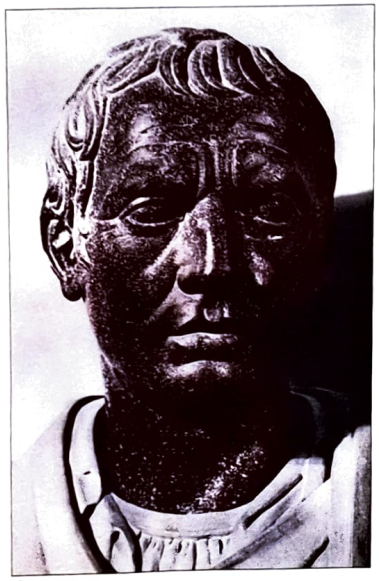
H51.

H53. Portrait of a "Medici"

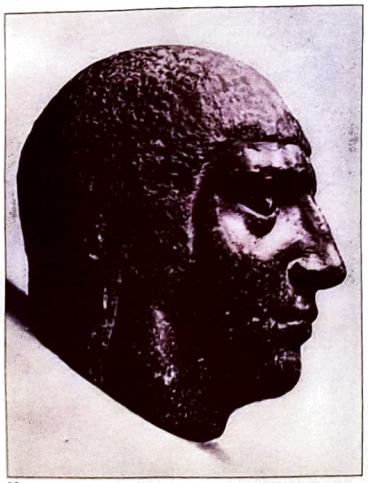
Height *c.* 17 cm.
16th century, work by del Tadda.
Poland, Kobylopole, Poznan, Mycielski Collection.
PROVENANCE: Florence.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 130–131, pl. 53.

H54. Head of Augustus

Height 73.5 cm.
Probably Italian from the 17th–18th century.
Toronto, New Royal Ontario Museum, inv. no. 933.27.5.
PROVENANCE: unknown, in Canada since 1933.
LITERATURE: WAYWELL 1986, p. 97, no. 57.



H52.



H53.

H55. Head of Nero

Height 76.5 cm.
Probably Italian from the 17th–18th century, the hand seems to be the same as that of the head of Augustus, also conserved in Toronto (inv. no. 933.27.5).
Toronto, New Royal Ontario Museum, inv. no. 933.27.1.
PROVENANCE: unknown, in Canada since 1933.
LITERATURE: WAYWELL 1986, p. 97, no. 57.

H54.

H55.

H56. The Mazarin Alexander the Great, Also Known as Minerva

Height *c.* 94 cm.
Rome, first half of the 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. Ma 3385.
PROVENANCE: Mazarin Collection, acquired by Colbert for Louis XIV in 1665.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 121–122, no. 34.

H57. Don Juan José of Austria (1629–1679)

Height *c.* 74 cm.
Rome, second half of the 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, Sculpture Department, inv. no. CH M 12.

H56.

H57.

PROVENANCE: bequeathed by Alfred Chauchard in 1909; stored in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, from 1927 to 1998 (France, 19th century, "The young Louis XIV").
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 136–137, no. 43.

H58. Ferdinand II De' Medici

Height head *c.* 35 cm.
Work by Raffaello Curradi.
Florence, Uffizi Gallery, Entrance Vestibule, inv. no. 45.
PROVENANCE: old fonds.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981–1987, II, p. 800, no. 71, fig. 38.71.

H59. Siren

Length *c.* 25 cm.
17th century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.

H58.

H59.

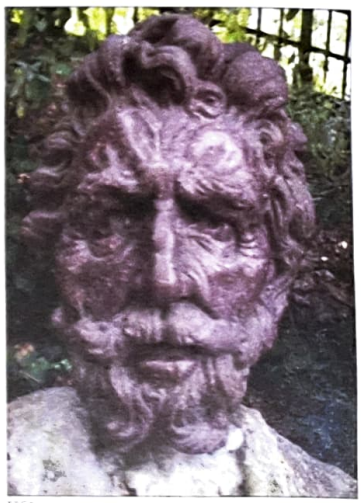
A siren with integral body and tail fin and wings.
PROVENANCE: antique market (Dr Cassandro).
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H60. Head of Goliath

Height *c.* 47 cm.
1632; work by Raffaello Curradi and Cosimo Salvestrini.
Florence, Boboli Garden.
PROVENANCE: Medici commission.
LITERATURE: *Palazzo Pitti...* 2003, p. 593, no. 145; *Repertorio della scultura...* 1993, II, fig. 124; PIZZORUSSO 1989, p. 107, fig. 105; CANEVA 1982, p. 52; GUERRIERI, CHATFIELD 1972, p. 122, fig. 185.

H61. Alexander the Great

Height *c.* 114 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 8613.
PROVENANCE: 1642, Cardinal de Richelieu Collection; 1699, François Girardon Collection; 1715, Marshall Duke of Estrées Collection; from 1738 at Versailles; from 1797 in the Louvre, since 1953 once again at Versailles.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 142–143, no. 49.



H60.

H61.

H62. Scipio

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H63. Julius Caesar

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 7104.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H64. Augustus

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 7102.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H65. Tiberius

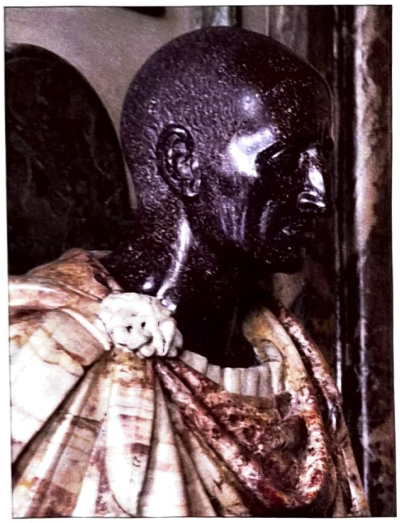
Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 8495.
PROVENANCE: in 1686, in the War Room (with five other busts); in 1824, exhibited in the anti-chamber of the main staircase and was part of the series of twelve Caesars that was reported to be in the Tuileries Palace.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 132.

H66. Caligula

Height 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 7107.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H67. Claudius

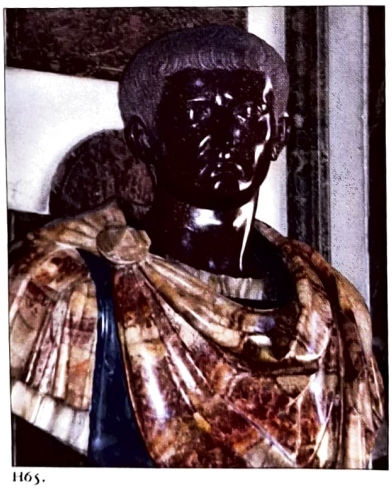
Height *c.* 30 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 7109
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.


H62.

H64.

H66.

H63.


H65.

H67.

H68. Claudius

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H69. Nero

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 8609.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H70. Otho

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H71. Otho

Height *c.* 30 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H72. Vitellius

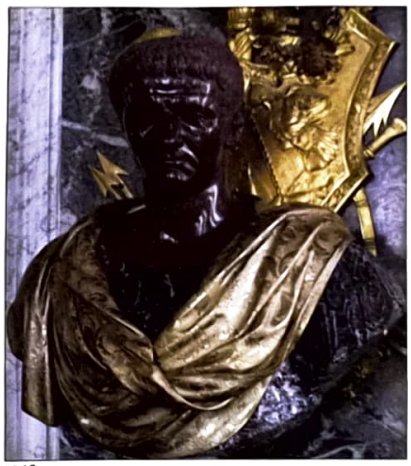
Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 7101.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery, inv. no. 1653. In 1686, located in the Peace Room (with five other busts); in 1824, exhibited in the anti-chamber of the main staircase and was part of the series of twelve Caesars that was reported to be in the Tuileries Palace.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, p. 130, no. 39.

H73. Vespasian

Height *c.* 30 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 7111.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery, inv. no. 1653.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, pp. 130-132, no. 40.

H74. Titus

Height *c.* 30 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 7105.
PROVENANCE: Mazarin Collection.
LITERATURE: MUSÉE NATIONALE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES 1993, p. 351, no. 1638.


H68.

H70.

H72.

H69.

H71.

H73.

H74.

H75. Domitian

Height *c.* 30 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 8496.
PROVENANCE: in 1686, in the Peace Room (with five other busts); in 1824, exhibited in the anti-chamber of the main staircase and was part of the series of twelve Caesars that was reported to be in the Tuileries Palace.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 132-135, no. 42.

H76. Domitian

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal, Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H77. Nerva

Height 38 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection, Palais-Cardinal Upper Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H78. Trajan

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. MV 7100.
PROVENANCE: Mazarin Collection.
LITERATURE: MUSÉE NATIONALE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES 1993, p. 350, no. 1634.

H79. Portraits of Emperors and Consulars

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Work by a 17th-century anonymous artist.
Rome, Borghese Gallery, Room of the Emperors (room no. IV).

The series consists of sixteen portraits of Porphyry heads and alabaster busts. They depict the emperors from Augustus to Domitian with the addition of Trajan, of three consulars (Scipio Africanus, Agrippa and Cicero) and a copy of Vitellius.
PROVENANCE: Rome, recorded for the first time in 1683.
LITERATURE: COLIVA 1994, pl. 163.

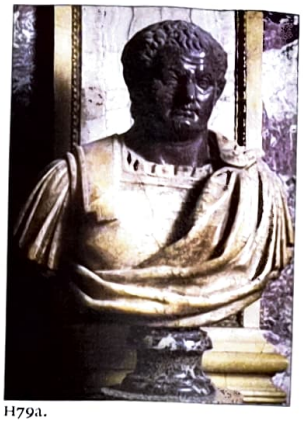
H80. Head of Alessandro Morente

Height *c.* 62 cm.
17th century, attributed to Romolo Ferrucci, copy of the old original version.
Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure.
PROVENANCE: collection of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 95, fig. 45; BUTTERS 1996, II, pl. 127.

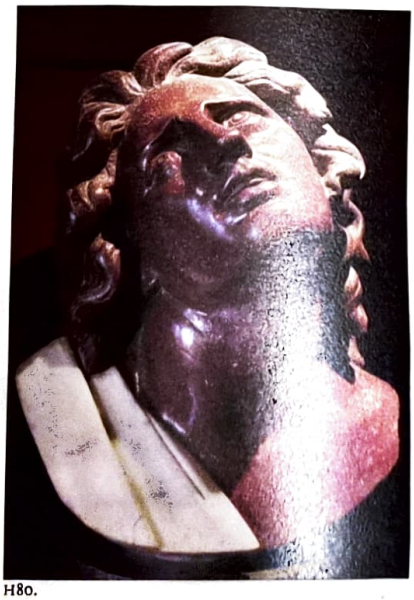
H75.

H76.

H77.


H79a.

H79b.


H80.

H81. Head of Alexander the Great

Height *c.* 40 cm.
17th–18th century.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 187 (1879 post).
PROVENANCE: old fonds.
LITERATURE: *Il Bargello...* 1970.

H82. Head of Trajan

Height *c.* 30 cm.
17th–18th century.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Modern Art Department, inv. no. 675.
PROVENANCE: acquired from Guggenheim in 1896 in Venice.
LITERATURE: NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK 1995, II.

H83. Male Portrait

Height *c.* 75 cm.
17th century.
Madrid, Royal Palace.
Depicting a figure from the 1st century BC, possibly Julius Caesar or Augustus.
PROVENANCE: Ercolano.
LITERATURE: BOSCHUNG 1993, p. 198, no. 229; SCOTT 1903 p. 153 ff., no. 57, pl. 31.

H84. Head of Alexander the Great

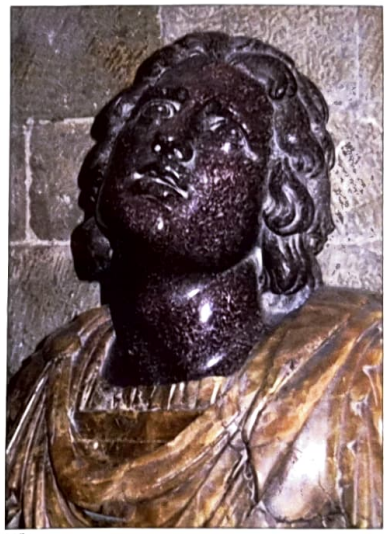
Height *c.* 70 cm.
17th–18th century.
London, National Gallery, inv. no. NG2241.
PROVENANCE: donated by Henry Yates Thompson, 1894.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 93.

H85. Head of Dace

Height *c.* 53 cm.
18th–19th century.
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 13/2722.
Posterior part of head missing.
PROVENANCE: antique market in Rome (1913).
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 133, pl. 54; CASKEY 1914, p. 493.

H86. Male Bust

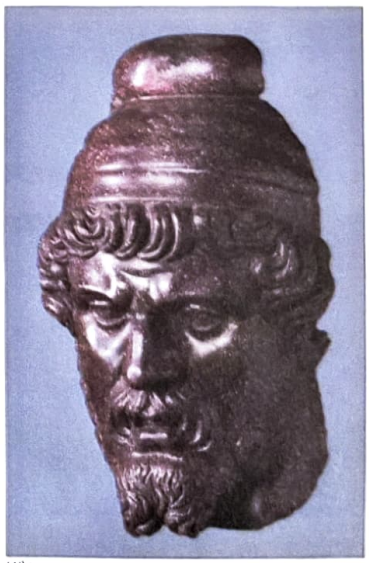
Height *c.* 54 cm.
Italy, 18th–19th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 139b.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, Paris, 7 December 2005.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri* 2012, p. 76, no. I.41.


H81.

H82.

H83.

H84.


H85.

H86.

H87.

H87. Female Bust

Height *c.* 54 cm.
Italy, 18th-19th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 1392.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, Paris, 7 December 2005.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri* 2012, p. 77, no. I.42.

H88. Head of Vitellius

Height *c.* 38 cm.
18th century.
London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.
It may possibly be the head belonging to bust no. 59 in the Hope Collection, bought in 1917 from Gudenian (see H88b).
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: WAYWELL 1986, p. 97, no. 57.

H88a.

H88b.

H89. Julius Caesar

Height head *c.* 40 cm.
18th century.
Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.
PROVENANCE: Ince Blundell Collection, acquired from the Duke of Buccleuch.
LITERATURE: BAKER 2000, p. 132, fig. 100.

H89.

H91.

H90. Head of a Faun

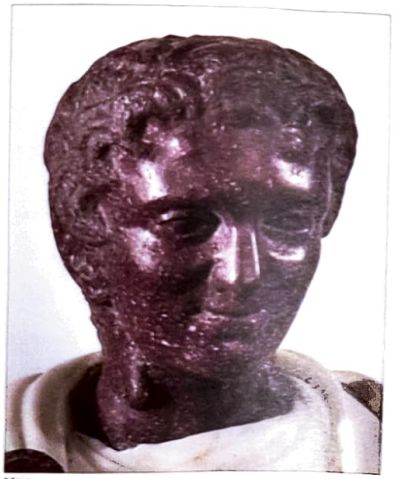
Height *c.* 16 cm.
18th-19th century (?), reworked.
Milan, private collection (Cesati).
PROVENANCE: Milan, antique market; San Marco auction house, Venice, 6 July 2008; formerly Georges Gorce Collection, Resident General de France in Tunisia, 1955.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H91. Head of William III

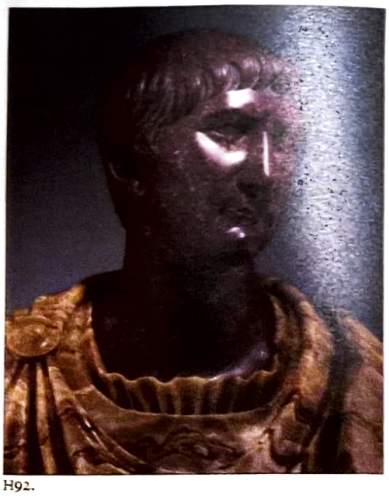
Height *c.* 60 cm.
18th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 8 July 2010.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H92. Head of Trajan

Height *c.* 38 cm.
18th-19th century.
London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.



H90.



H92.

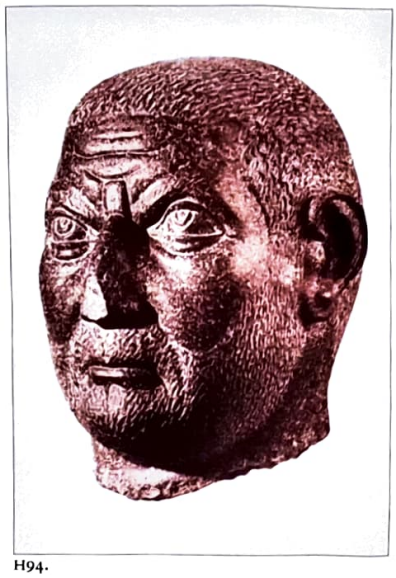
H93. Head of Medusa

Height 8.5 cm.
Unknown.
Unknown; once in Bonn, Provinzialmuseum.
PROVENANCE: Bergheim, near Cologne.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 131, fig. 52; SCHNEIDER 1887, p. 142, pl. VIII.

H93.

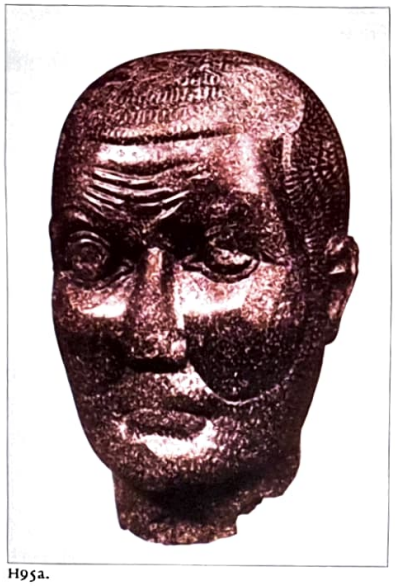
H94. Head

Height *c.* 33 cm.
Modern forgery from a Roman workshop in the 1970s.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 4163.
The portrait, identified by Villard, on the basis of monetary depictions, as Constantius Chlorus, belongs to a group of imperial portraits. L'Orange sees a marked similarity with the head in Athribis.
PROVENANCE: antique market, 1970s.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 59, no. A7; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 108.


H94.

H95. Head

Height *c.* 43 cm.
Modern forgery from a Roman workshop in the 1970s.
London, British Museum, inv. no. 794, acquired in 1974 (1974.12-13.1).
D. E. L. Haynes and B. F. Cook believe it to be of Constantius Chlorus; for L'Orange, it portrays Maximinius Daia on the basis of the stylistic production. In the *Gazzette des Beaux Arts* 117, the head is described as being of Constantine. For Kiss, it was produced in the late Constantinian age and he identified it as Constantius II.
PROVENANCE: private Swiss collection.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, pp. 58-59, no. A6; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 113; HAYNES1976, pp. 350-357; COOK 1976, pp. 188-189.


H95a.

H95b.

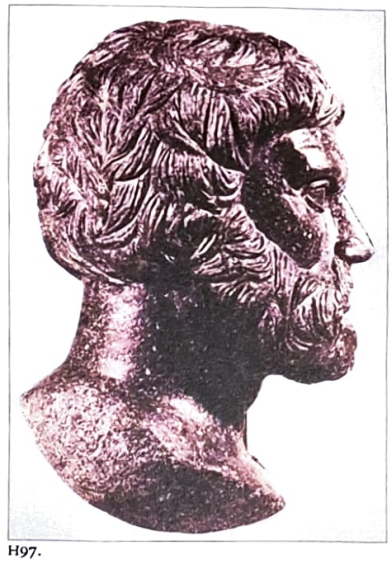
H96. Head of a Young Boy

Height *c.* 42 cm.
Modern forgery.
New York, Metropolitan Museum.
PROVENANCE: acquired as a forgery.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 133, pl. 56; *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 24, 1929, p. 145, fig. 10.

H96.

H97. Head of a Philosopher

Height *c.* 25 cm.
Modern forgery.
Declared stolen from the Ariosto Gallery, Milan.
PROVENANCE: Milan, the antiquarian, Stefania Ariosto.
LITERATURE: *Servizio per le ricerche delle opere d'arte rubate. Bollettino*, 17, 1994, p. 167, no. 35741/2.


H97.

H98. Egyptian-Style Head

Height *c.* 19 cm.
Unknown.
Unknown; once in Dresden, Albertinum (see entry H1).
The inventory from 1769 describes it as a head of an unknown, beardless young man.
PROVENANCE: Brühl Collection, acquired in 1769, appears to have been sold in 1873.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 132.

H99. Head of a Horse

Unknown.
Unknown.
Unknown; once in Munich.
PROVENANCE: acquired in 1567 in Rome.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 132.

H100. Head from a *Labrum*

Dimensions not detectable.
4th century.
Vico Equense, private collection (S. S. Gargiulo).
The bearded head may portray a deity. The eyes were predisposed to hold inclusions in a different material. There is a groove on the head, possibly for a crown.
PROVENANCE: Vico Equense, found according to Delbrueck, *c.* 1910.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 414, no. 5; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 244–245.

H101. Male Head

Height *c.* 42 cm.
Modern imitation.
Paris, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Paris, antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H102. Male Head

Height *c.* 31 cm.
Modern imitation.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, New York, 13 October 1999.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H103. Male Head

Height *c.* 40 cm.
Modern imitation.
Paris, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Paris; Louviers, Prunier auction house, 23 January 2011; from the antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H104. Male Head

Height *c.* 38 cm.
Modern imitation.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: antique market in Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H105. Male Head

Height *c.* 30 cm.
Modern imitation.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Bonhams, Knightsbridge, 3 October 2000.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

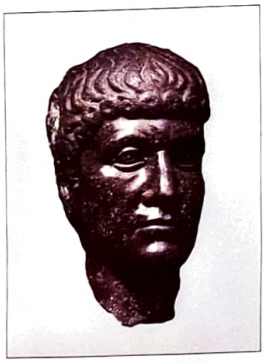
H106. Male Head

Height *c.* 14 cm.
Modern imitation.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, Paris, 13–14 September 2006, sale no. 5426.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

H107. Head of Athena

Height 26.6 cm.
Modern imitation.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, New York, 3 October 2008; previously sold Sotheby's, London, 4 April 1977.
LITERATURE: GREGAREK 1999, p. 186, no. B42.

H101.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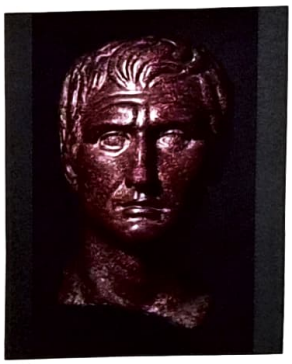
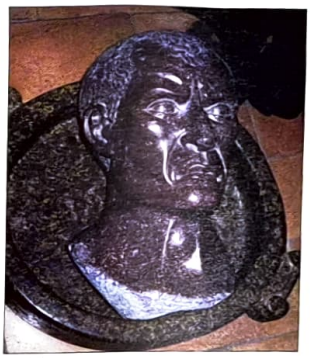

H103.


H104.

H105.

H106.

H107.

Busts

B1. Bust of Serapis

Height *c.* 15 cm.
1st century BC/1st century AD.
Cairo, Museum, inv. no. 27484.
Almost identical to the bust in the Cook Collection in Richmond (UK, see B3) and to the one in Venice (see B6).
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: HORNBOSTEL 1973, fig. 30, pl. XX; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 66, fig. 16.

B2. Bust of Serapis

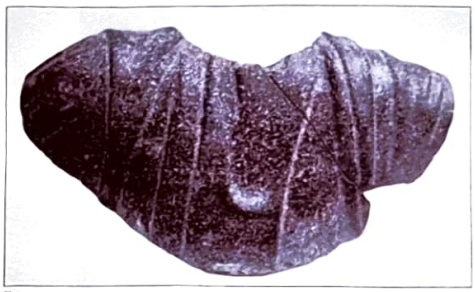
Height *c.* 24 cm.
1st century BC/1st century AD.
Alexandria, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Antiquities Museum, inv. no. 28112.
PROVENANCE: Asiut (Lykopolis) El Sehrij.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B3. Bust of Serapis

Height *c.* 21 cm.
1st/2nd century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, New York, 8 December 2010, lot 58, formerly in Richmond, Doughty House in the Cook Collection.
LITERATURE: HORNBOSTEL 1973, fig. 29, pl. XX; KATER/SIBBES 1973, p. 188, no. 966; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 67, fig. 17; STRONG 1908, p. 3, fig. 1, p. 8, no. 10.

B4. Bust of Serapis

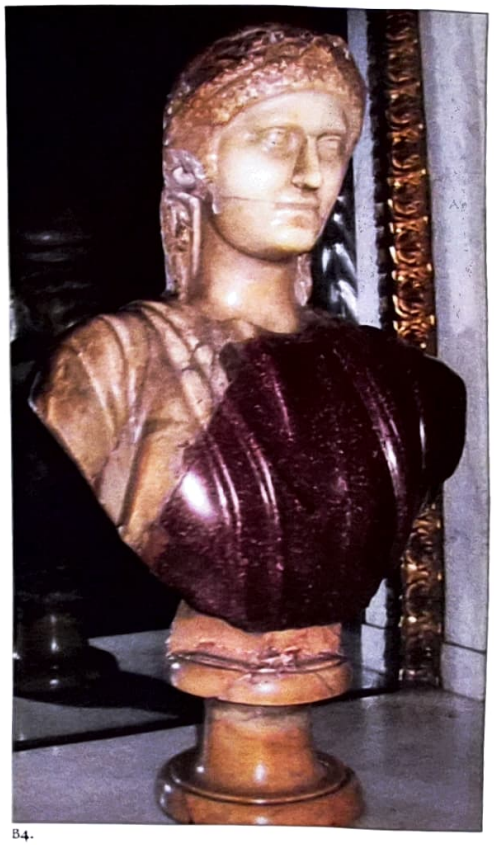
Height *c.* 42 cm.
1st/2nd century.
UK, Derbyshire, Chatsworth Library.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: BOSCHUNG, HESBERG, LINFERT 1997, no.24.


B1.

B2.

B3a.

B3b.


B4.

B5.

B6.

B7.

B8.

B5. Bust of Serapis

Height (bust without corbel) *c.* 18 cm.

1st-2nd century.

Venice, Archaeological Museum, Room VII, inv. no. 233.

PROVENANCE: formerly in the collection of Cardinal Domenico Grimani, donated to the Venetian Republic in 1586.

LITERATURE: HORNBOSTEL 1973, fig. 28, pl. XIX; KATER-SIBBES 1973, p. 108, no. 582; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 67, fig. 18; ANTI 1930, p. 84.

B6. Bust of Serapis

Height *c.* 14 cm; width *c.* 21 cm.

1st-2nd century.

Rome, Basilica of Santa Prisca, Museum, inv. no. 64.154/65.231: now Malaise, inv. 229 no. 419.

PROVENANCE: Rome, from excavations of the Mithraeum under Santa Prisca (1964-1966), conducted by M. J. Vermaseren.

LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, pp. 70-71, no. A28; HORNBOSTEL 1973, fig. 32, pl. 21; KATER-SIBBES 1973, p. 123, no. 662; MALAISE 1972, p. 229, no. 419.

B7. Bust of Serapis

Height *c.* 12 cm; width *c.* 21 cm.

1st-2nd century.

Rome, Vatican, Storerooms.

PROVENANCE: unknown.

LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 71, no. A29; HORNBOSTEL 1973, no. 31, pl. XXI (DAI Rom 66.2617; Vat. Neg. XXVI.2.47); KATER-SIBBES 1973, p. 129, no. 699.

B9.

B8. Loricate Bust

Height *c.* 72 cm.

2nd century.

Rome, Capitoline Museum, Hall of the Emperors, inv. no. MC 0464 (old inv. no. 53).

PROVENANCE: unknown, former Albani Collection (until 1733), inv. no. 6.

LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 26, fig. 31; *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 62-63, fig. 24; *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, pp. 328-329, no. 27; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 51, pl. 8; STUART JONES 1912, p. 204, no. 53, pl. 48.

B9. Female Bust

Height *c.* 76 cm.

2nd century; Delbrueck regards it to be an idealised portrait of an Antonine lady portrayed as a muse.

Rome, Villa Albani, inv. no. 665.

PROVENANCE: Rome.

LITERATURE: BOL 1989-1998, IV, pp. 398-401, no. 516, pls. 228-231; LUCCI 1964, p. 251; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 75-76, fig. 23, pl. 27; SCHNEIDER 1887, p. 122; MORCELLI, FEA, VISCONTI 1869, p. 97, no. 665; CORSI 1845, p. 203.

B10. Bust of So-Called Scipio the African

Height *c.* 65 cm.

2nd-3rd century.

Rome, Museo Torlonia, inv. 346.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Giustiniani Gallery.

LITERATURE: VISCONTI 1885, I, p. 230, no. 346, II, pl. 85.

B10.

B11. Busts of Nerva and Trajan on Columns

Height bust *c.* 65 cm.
Rome, 2nd century.
Paris, Louvre, Department of Decorative Arts.
Nerva: inv. no. MR 1090 (Ma 1068, OA 9054).
Trajan: inv. no. MR 1091 (Ma 1069, OA 9055).
These portrait busts have certainly been repolished and the Porphyry is the type found in the district of Lepsius (see section "Porphyry Samples" at the end of this book and compare the type of Porphyry with entries F21a-b), which would unite it to the bust of the pseudo-Constantine in the Vatican Museums (see entry B17). In a drawing attributed to Simone Pollaiolo preserved in the Uffizi, depicting the Baldachin of the Cantharus of Saint Peter, one of the columns is identical to those in the Louvre for the presence of the bust that rests on the globe, (see B11e).

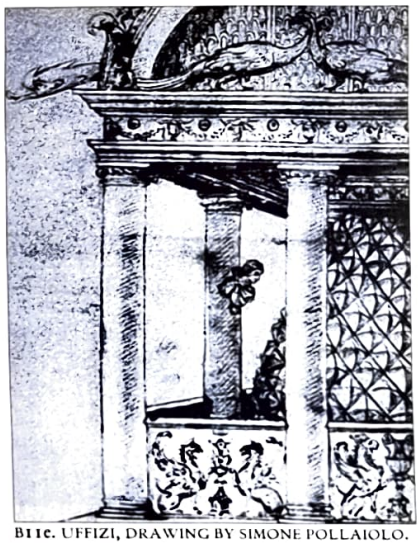
PROVENANCE: Rome; collection of Cardinal Marco Sittico von Hohenems (died 1595), then in the collection of Giovanni Angelo Altemps, Duke of Gallese (died 1620); in the Altemps Collection until the mid 18th century (mentioned by Bianchini in 1710 and Ficoroni in 1744); Frederick Augustus Hervey Collection (1730-1803), Bishop of Derry, then 4th Earl of Bristol from 1779; Fea reports that they were of interest to Cardinal Fesch in 1803. Negotiated for in Rome by Pierre-Adrien Paris, together with Annibale Malatesta and Michele Belli and acquired in June 1808 by the Napoléon Museum (for 1,800 piastre); where they were sent with the convoy of the Borghese Collection.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 51-54, nos. 7-8; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 52-54, pls. 9-10.

B11a.

B11b.

B11c.

B11d.


B11e. UFFIZI, DRAWING BY SIMONE POLLAIOLO.

B12. Female Bust

Height *c.* 50 cm.
2nd-3rd century (?).
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, New York, 22 October 2003.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B13. Bust of a Severian Character

Height *c.* 60 cm.
3rd century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no.158.

B12.

PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, Paris, 9 November 2005; Klaus Otto Preis Collection; acquired in Morocco towards 1960 from *Volubilis*.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri* 2012, p. 101, no. III.71; *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 62-63 no. 13.

B14. Loricate Bust

Height *c.* 77 cm.
3rd century.
Naples, National Archaeological Museum, Farnese Collection, inv. no. 6101.
The Lunense marble head is not pertinent.
PROVENANCE: Frascati.
LITERATURE: GASPARI 2009, pp. 119-120, no. 95, pl. XCVI, nos. 1-4; *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 62, n. 1; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 82-84, pl. 30.

B13.

B14.

B15.

B15. Bust of Marcus Aurelius

Height *c.* 121 cm; head *c.* 59 cm, larger than life-size.

4th century (bust), the bronze head with neck and the gold leaf cloak can be dated to the 17th century.

Rome, National Roman Museum, Palazzo Altemps, inv. no. 8592.

PROVENANCE: unknown. In the Ludovisi Collection from 1655.

LITERATURE: DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT 2002, p. 71; KLEIN 1988, p. 66, no. A17.

B16a.

B16. Portrait of Diocletian

Height *c.* max. 60 cm.

Late 3rd-early 4th century.

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. no. 7257.

It is the most complete and best preserved example of tetrarchy art of Roman Egypt. In the past, it has been identified as a portrait of Galerius on the basis of the comparison with *imagines clipeatae* of the small arch in the palatial complex in Thessaloniki, which was brought to light in 1957. As with the porphyritic portrait discovered in Antakya, I prefer the identification of this work as a portrait of Diocletian, the only emperor to have personally visited Egypt twice in those years (in 287-288 and 276-277) from lower Egypt to upper Egypt.

PROVENANCE: Athribis.

LITERATURE: *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2000, p. 560, no. 216 (formerly 215); *Milano capitale dell'Impero Romano...* 1990, p. 32, no. 1b.3b; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 107; CALZA 1972, pp. 144-145, no. 9, p. 204, no. 122, pl. XXXVII, 104-105; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 92-94, 95, fig. 35, pls. 38-39.

B16b.

B16c. AUREUS WITH THE PORTRAIT OF DIOCLETIAN.

B16d.

B17. Loricate Bust of Constantine (?)

Height *c.* 69 cm.

According to Delbrueck the bust represents Constantine II at the age of about twelve years old and is datable to AD 330. 4th-century bust; head non pertinent, maybe ancient.

Rome, Vatican Museums, Gallery of the Busts, inv. no. 598 (old inv. no. 383).

We believe that this bust, being of the same size, style (drapery, lorica, decoration etc.) and above all petrographic quality of the Egyptian Porphyry (quality found in the area of Lepsius quarry) of the two honorary columns of Nerva and Trajan in the Louvre (see C4), could also have been part of a column from this same group of columns. A drawing attributed to Simone Pollaiolo and conserved in the Uffizi depicts the Baldachin of the Cantharus of Saint Peter. One of the columns of this baldachin (at the same height as those in the Louvre) has an identical bust on the globe and this would therefore lead one to believe that there were three or more of these honorary columns, possibly even twelve as in the series of Caesars (see B17b).

STATE OF CONSERVATION: restored and repolished by Antonio Vinelli; the head (ancient?) is not pertinent and was possibly added during restoration.

PROVENANCE: from Palazzo Barberini in Rome, acquired from Princess Cornelia Costanza Barberini in 1772. In 1738 the bust was mentioned as being in the Barberini Collection. Wegner reports that it was moved to the Vatican under Clement XIV between 1769 and 1775.

LITERATURE: *Costantino il Grande...* 2005, p. 285, no. 123; *Aurea Roma...* 2000, pp. 563-564, no. 220 (formerly 219); SPINOLA 1999, pp. 75-76, no. 14; PIETRANGELI 1989b, p. 106, no. 14; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 136; WEGNER 1979, pp. 48-49; BRACKER 1975-1976, pp. XXIII-XXIV; CALZA 1972, pp. 285-287, no. 197, pl. C, 358-359; BERNOULLI 1969, II, 3, p. 147, no. 4, p. 148, 150 fig. 6; HELBIG 1963-1972, I, p. 141, no. 196; FELLETTI MAJ 1958, p. 184, no. 231; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 103-104, pls. 45-46; AMELUNG 1908, II, p. 566, no. 383, pl. 67.

B18. Male Loricate Bust

Height *c.* 70 cm.

Ancient bust with 18th-century head.

London, private collection.

PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, London, 11 July 2001.

LITERATURE: unpublished.

B17a.

B19. Polyhymnia

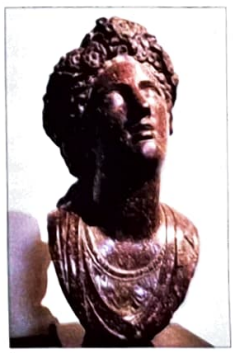
Height *c.* 50 cm.
16th century.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
PROVENANCE: work by Pier Maria Serbaldi da Pescia also known as il Tagliacarne.
LITERATURE: *Starke kopfe...* 2010.

B17b. UFFIZI, DRAWING BY SIMONE POLLAIOLO.

B17c. SEE ENTRY B11.

B17d. SEE ENTRY B11.

B18.



B19.

B20. Cosimo II De' Medici

Height *c.* 85 cm.
1624, work by Tommaso Fedeli.
Florence, Uffizi Gallery, Entrance Vestibule, inv. no. 47.
PROVENANCE: Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, I, pp. 560-562, fig. 28, no. 81.

B21. Ferdinand I De' Medici

Height *c.* 85 cm.
Early 17th century, attributed to Tommaso Fedeli.
Florence, Uffizi Gallery, Entrance Vestibule, inv. no. 48.
PROVENANCE: Granducate commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, II, p. 751, fig. 37, no. 77.

B20.

B21.

B22. Bust of a Lady

Total height *c.* 62 cm; max. length of bust *c.* 47 cm.
17th-century bust, 2nd-century head.
Bologna, Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Rom 1988.
Part of a series of eight sculptures, consisting of a draped Porphyry bust and white marble head. In some cases, the heads are ancient.
PROVENANCE: Marsili Collection.
LITERATURE: BRIZZOLARA 1986, p. 112, no. 53, pls. 107-109.

B23. Bust of Antoninus Pius

Total height *c.* 65 cm; max. length of bust *c.* 46 cm.
17th-century bust, 2nd-century head.
Bologna, Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Rom 1985.
Part of a series of eight sculptures, consisting of a cloaked Porphyry bust and white marble head. In some cases, the heads are ancient.
PROVENANCE: Marsili Collection.
LITERATURE: BRIZZOLARA 1986, p. 114, no. 56, pls. 115-118.

B22.

B23.

B24.

B25.

B26.

B27.

B28.

B29.

B24. Bust of a Lady

Total height *c.* 67 cm; max. length of bust *c.* 46 cm.
17th century.
Bologna, Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Rom 1983.
Part of a series of eight sculptures, consisting of a draped Porphyry bust and head in another material.
PROVENANCE: Marsili Collection.
LITERATURE: BRIZZOLARA 1986, p. 117, no. 59, pls. 123-124.

B25. Bust of a Youth

Total height *c.* 60 cm; max. length of bust *c.* 40 cm.
17th-century bust, 2nd-century head.
Bologna, Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Rom 1984.
Part of a series of eight sculptures, consisting of a draped Porphyry bust and white marble head. In some cases, the heads are ancient.
PROVENANCE: Marsili Collection.
LITERATURE: BRIZZOLARA 1986, pp. 112-113, no. 54, pls. 110-111.

B26. Bust of a Man

Total height *c.* 63 cm; max. length of bust *c.* 46 cm.
17th-century bust, head from the end of the 1st century.
Bologna, Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Rom 1982.
Part of a series of eight sculptures, consisting of a draped Porphyry bust and white marble head. In some cases, the heads are ancient.
PROVENANCE: Marsili Collection.
LITERATURE: BRIZZOLARA 1986, pp. 113-114, no. 55, pls. 112-114.

B27. Bust of a Youth

Total height *c.* 64 cm; max. length of bust *c.* 48 cm.
17th century.
Bologna, Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Rom 1986.
Part of a series of eight sculptures, consisting of a draped Porphyry bust and white marble head.
PROVENANCE: Marsili Collection.
LITERATURE: BRIZZOLARA 1986, pp. 115-116, no. 57, pls. 119-120.

B28. Bust of a Lady

Total height *c.* 66 cm; max. length of bust *c.* 46 cm.
17th century.
Bologna, Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Rom 1989.
Part of a series of eight sculptures, consisting of a draped Porphyry bust and white marble head.
PROVENANCE: Marsili Collection.
LITERATURE: BRIZZOLARA 1986, pp. 116-117, no. 58, pls. 121-122.

B30.

B29. Bust of a Man

Total height *c.* 63 cm; max. length of bust *c.* 46 cm.
17th century.
Bologna, Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Rom 1987.
Part of a series of eight sculptures, consisting of a draped Porphyry bust and white marble head.
PROVENANCE: Marsili Collection.
LITERATURE: BRIZZOLARA 1986, pp. 117-118, no. 60, pls. 125-126.

B30. Bust of Cardinal Marzio Ginetti

Height *c.* 60 cm.
1673, Alessandro Rondone.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 75.
PROVENANCE: Rome, purchased from the antiques dealer Orsi, 2004.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri* 2012, p. 114, no. III.84.

B31. Bust of Urban VIII Barberini

c. 70 x 68 cm.
c. 1632, G. L. Bernini.
Rome, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Palazzo Barberini.
LITERATURE: *I marmi vivi...* 2009, pp. 254-259, no. 12.

B32. Bust of Innocent X By A. Algardi

Height *c.* 60 cm.
c. 1647.
Rome, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, *Sala dei Vellu-ti.*
To be compared with the bronze bust also by Algardi in the same gallery (of which there is an ancient copy in the Cleveland Museum of Art). The Porphyry part was possibly carved by his collaborator, D. Guidi.

B31.

B33.

PROVENANCE: Pamphilj family.
LITERATURE: DE MARCHI 1999, p. 53; MONTAGU 1985, no. 157; NAVA CELLINI 1964, p. 21; WITTKOWER 1955.

B33. Bust

Height *c.* 23 cm.
17th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, London, 6 December 2006.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B34. Portrait of Jean François Paul Gondi

Height *c.* 70 cm.
17th century, work by Matteo Ferrucci.
Milan, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Florentine antique market, formerly in Paris, Gondi Collection.
LITERATURE: PRATESI 2003.

B35. Francesco I De' Medici

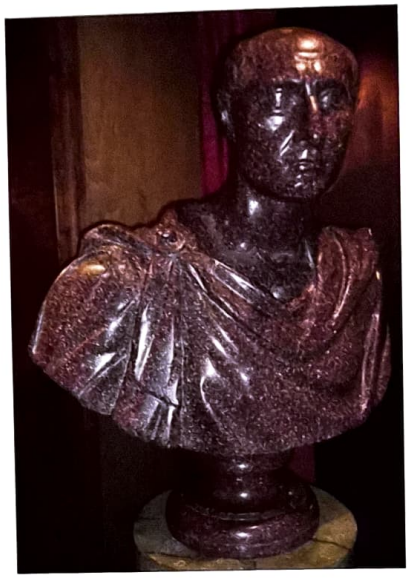
Height *c.* 94 cm.
Attributed to Mattia Ferrucci del Tadda.
Italy, private collection (?).
PROVENANCE: Granducate commission, pendant to the bust of Cosimo I.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, II, p. 884, no. 76, fig. 42.

B32.

B34.

B35.

B36.



B37.

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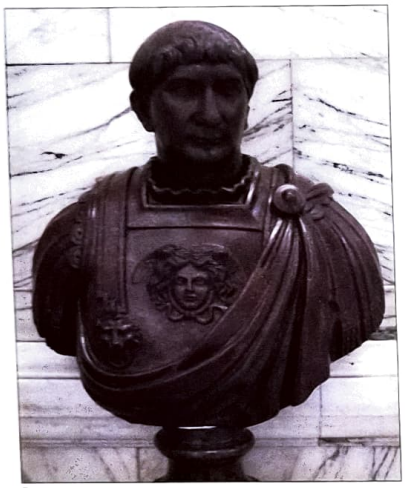
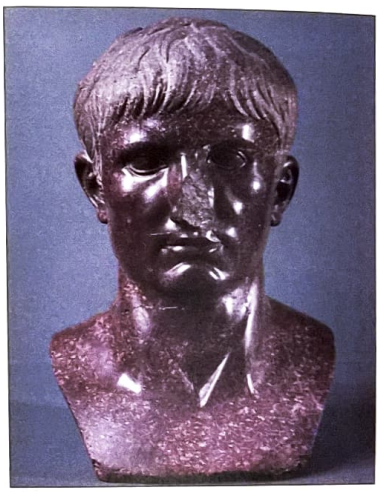


B39.

B40.



B41.

B36. Bust of Cosimo II

Height *c.* 82.5 cm.
1621, work of Matteo Ferrucci.
Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, Galleria del Poccetti.
PROVENANCE: Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, I, p. 563 n. 83, fig. 28.83.

B37. Bust of a Roman Personage

Height *c.* 62 cm.
Bust 17th century, head may be older.
European private collection.
The bust is worked out from a fragment of a Porphyry sarcophagus or from a Roman basin; this is clearly visible in the back of the bust and the way it is worked.
PROVENANCE: courtesy of Sotheby's, London.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B38. Bust of an Emperor

Height *c.* 81 cm; width *c.* 65 cm; depth *c.* 29 cm.
18th century.
Paris, Decorative Arts Museum, inv. no. PE 753 (old).
PROVENANCE: legacy of Emile Peyre, 1905.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 116-117, no. 31.

B39. Bust of Trajan

Height *c.* 82 cm.
18th century.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.7-1941.
PROVENANCE: Italy.
LITERATURE: WILLIAMSON 1996.

B40. Bust of an Emperor

Height *c.* 50 cm.
18th century.
On the antique market.
PROVENANCE: Milan, Galleria Orsi.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B41. Bust of Augustus

Height 39.5 cm.
Different periods and various operations of restoration, from the antique to the 18th century.
UK, Philip Hewat-Jaboor Collection.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B42. Bust of an Emperor

Height *c.* 72 cm.
18th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, New York, 27 January 2011.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B43. Bust of Thetis

Height *c.* 81 cm.
18th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, New York, 27 January 2011.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B44. Bust of Camillo Benso Conte di Cavour

Height c. 80 cm.
After 1856, year in which he received the medal around his neck of "Ordine Supremo della Santissima Annunziata".
Rome, Campidoglio, office of the Mayor of Rome, Sala Azzurra, inv. no. PRO 114.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Marmoraro Serafino Granchielli workshop; acquired by the city council of Rome in 1884, coming from Museo Barracco.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B45. Bust of Caracalla

Height *c.* 65 cm.
Modern production (?).
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: Rome, G. Cellini photographic archive.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B46. Bust of an Emperor

Height *c.* 50 cm.
17th century.
UK, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

B47. Bust of Serapis

Height *c.* 14 cm.
1st-2nd century.
UK, Chatsworth House.
PROVENANCE: Cavendish Collection.
LITERATURE: LINFERT 1997, no. 24.

B48. Two Busts of Emperors

Height *c.* 69 cm.
Undatable.
UK, Stratfield Saye House.
They could depict Faustina the Younger and Julia Domna. Vermeule defined them "superlative Porphyry busts".
PROVENANCE: discovered in the late 19th century.
LITERATURE: VERMEULE 2001-2003, IV, p. 250; KLEIN 1988, p. 57, no. A4; LUCCI 1964, p. 271, n. 154f; VERMEULE, VON BOTHMER 1956, p. 332.

B49. Acephalous Bust

Height *c.* 48 cm.
2nd century.
Ostia Antica, inv. no. 1888.
Headless bust with cavity for a marble head.
PROVENANCE: Ostia.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 66, no. A18; LUCCI 1964, p. 271, n. 154f.

B42.

B43.

B50. Francesco I de' Medici

Height *c.* 80 cm.
Attributed to Mattias Ferrucci del Tadda.
UK, private collection (?).
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, II, pp. 884-885, no. 78; *Baroque Art...* 1969, no. 43.

B51. Bust of Didius Julianus

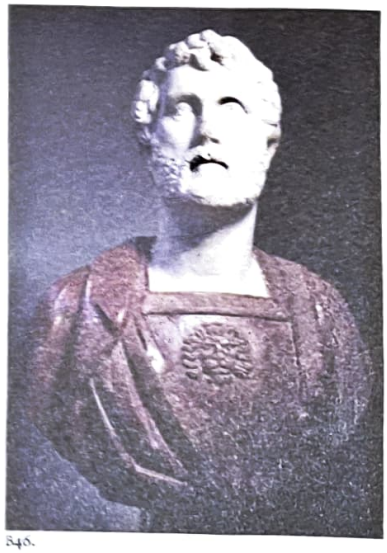
Height *c.* 70 cm.
Unknown.
Rome, Giustiniani Collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: FITTSCHEN, ZANKER 1985, I, 93 no. 81, n. 2 a; SOECHTING 1972, 266 no. 6; MCCANN 1968, p. 194, no. K, pl. 100.

B52. Bust of Augustus

Height *c.* 77 cm.
Unknown.
UK, Stratfield Saye House, swimming pool area (once in glasshouse).
The bust could be ancient.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: VERMEULE 1959, pp. 329-348 (the head in question is on p. 344).

B44.

B45.


B46.

Reliefs

R1. Fragment with Bas-Relief Figure

Fragment A: height *c.* 13 cm; length *c.* 26 cm; Fragment B: height *c.* 15 cm; length *c.* 25 cm.
2nd century (?).
London, British Museum, inv. no. 1903.7-14 1.2.
The two fragments are from two different horizontal bands. Fragment B depicts a satyr without horns with pointed ears; fragment A has vegetal motif decoration with acanthus sprays.
PROVENANCE: presumably Egypt, acquired by H. Wallis thus entering into his collection.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 137-138, pl. 70.

R1.

R2. Gorgoneion

Diameter *c.* 141 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Palazzo Colonna, on the monumental stairway.
Re-put together from four of the larger-sized fragments and one of the smaller fragments.
PROVENANCE: from excavations in the garden of Palazzo Colonna (circa 1650).
LITERATURE: PICOZZI 2010, pp. 213-226; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 78-80, fig. 28.

R2.

R3a.

R3. Bas-Relief Bust

c. 65 x 62 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, cloister, inv. no. 111.
We agree with the hypothesis put forward by Romeo and De Biasio that it could be a Mithraic relief; if this were correct, it would be the first of its kind. It is a tauroctony scene: the drapery fragment in the bottom right could be part of Mithras's flowing chlamys, whilst the bust could be identified with an astral representation (usually Mithraic reliefs have a divine figure in this position). The hypothesis that it could be part of the sarcophagus of Saint Helen is less likely, not only because of the quality and the thickness of the Porphyry but also because of the bas-relief style. The piece must have been forgotten in the Lateran when the sarcophagus was transported to the Pius-Clementine Museum. In actual fact, the forward-leaning bust could seem similar to those on the extremities of the sarcophagus's anterior face, but in those areas the monument is integral, as is demonstrated in various historical prints; see Piranesi's engraving (R3b).
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: ROMEO, DE BIASIO 2004, pp. 101-102, n. 7; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 216, pl. 103.

R4.

R3b. PIRANESI ENGRAVING.

R4. Male Portrait

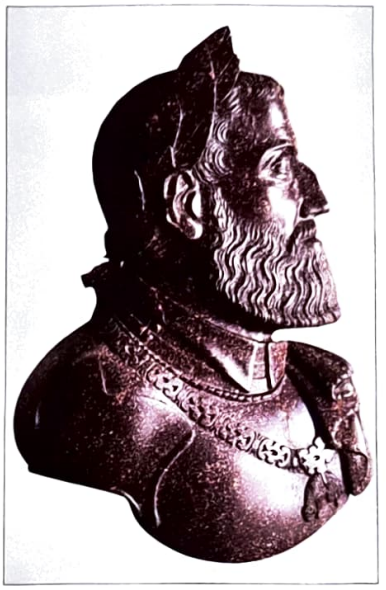
Length 35 cm.
3rd-4th century.
Venice, Ca' d'Oro.
PROVENANCE: Venice, Franchetti Gallery.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

R5. Allegory of Peace-Burning Weapons

Height *c.* 5 cm (without the metallic ring: *c.* 4 cm.); thick *c.* 2 cm.
Work by Pier Maria Serbaldi da Pescia, also known as il Tagliacarne (Pescia *c.* 1455 - after 1522).
Paris, Louvre, Department of Decorative Arts, inv. no. OA 3330.
Porphyry seal. Inscription: *SCVTA COMBVRET IGNI.*
PROVENANCE: donated by Charles Stein, 1893.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, no. 21.

R5.

R6.



R7.

R8.

R6. Leo X

Height *c.* 34 cm.
Work by Pier Maria Serbaldi da Pescia, also known as il Tagliacarne.
Florence, Pitti Palace, Museo degli Argenti.
PROVENANCE: Medici commission.
LITERATURE: BUTTERS *1996*, fig. XXXVIII.

R7. Charles V

Height *c.* 100 cm.
Attributed to Francesco di Giovanni Ferrucci, also known as Tadda (Fiesole 1497 - Florence 1586).
Paris, Museum of Decorative Arts, inv. no. 28311.
PROVENANCE: donated by Marguerite de Biencourt, Viscountess of Poncins, 1933.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, no. 24.

R8. Christ

Height *c.* 53 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Bosco Marengo, Monumental Complex of Santa Croce.
PROVENANCE: Florence.
LITERATURE: BUTTERS 1996, figs. LI-LIII; VIALE FERRERO 1959.

R9. Christ

Height *c.* 53 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Bosco Marengo, Monumental Complex of Santa Croce.
PROVENANCE: Florence.
LITERATURE: BUTTERS 1996, fig. L; VIALE FERRERO 1959.

R9.

R10. Christ

Height *c.* 45 cm.
c. 1620, attributed to Mattia Ferrucci son of Giovanbattista del Tadda.
Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, inv. 719.
PROVENANCE: donation Bourguignon de Fabregoules, 1860.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 104, no. 25.

R11. Christ

Height *c.* 49 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Prague, National Gallery.
PROVENANCE: Florence.
LITERATURE: BUTTERS 1996, fig. 47.

R12. Christ

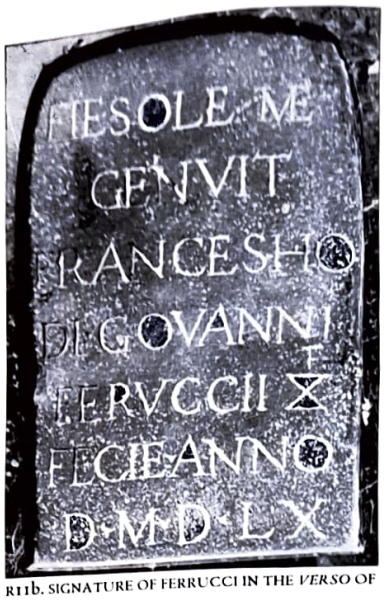
Height *c.* 47 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
London, Haim Gallery, exhibited, 1972.
PROVENANCE: Florence.
LITERATURE: BUTTERS 1996, p. 316, fig. 110.

R13. Cosimo Il Vecchio

c. 47 x 35 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 997.
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, I, p. 396, fig. 26, no. 24.

R10.

R11a.



R11b. SIGNATURE OF FERRUCCI IN THE *VERSO* OF CHRIST OVAL.

R12.

R13.

R14.

R15.

R16.

R14. Cosimo I

c. 47 x 35 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 998.
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, I, p. 477, fig. 27, no. 132.

R15. Eleonor of Toledo

c. 53 x 35 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 1142.
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, I, p. 703, fig. 35, no. 26.

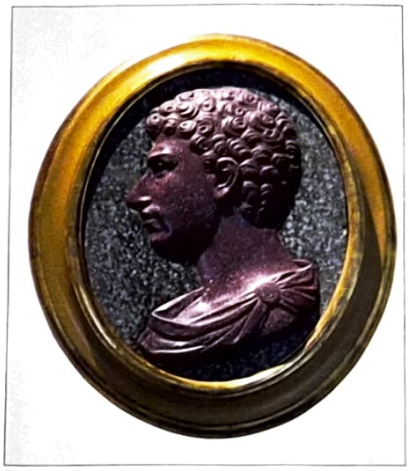
R16. Giovanni Di Bicci De' Medici

c. 47 x 35 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 407.
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, II, p. 1002, fig. 52, no. 7.

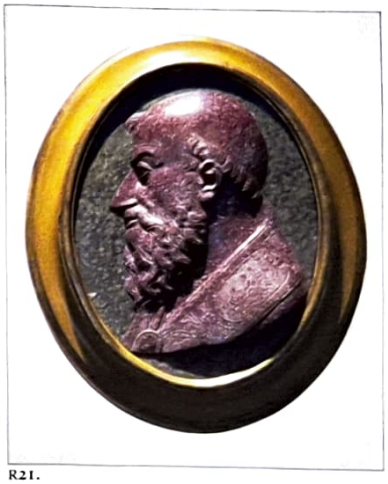
R17.

R18.

R19.



R20.



R21.

R22.

R17. Leo X

c. 46 x 35 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 405.
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, II, p. 1422, fig. 103, no. 45.

R18. Piero De' Medici "The Gouty"

c. 48 x 35 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 1139.
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, II, p. 1337, fig. 98, no. 11.

R19. Lorenzo De' Medici "The Magnificent"

c. 48 x 35 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 505 (old inventory).
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, II, p. 1163, fig. 74, no. 29.

R20. Alessandro De' Medici

c. 46.5 x 35.5 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 1140.
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, I, p. 232, fig. 1, no. 25.

R21. Clement VII

c. 47 x 35 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 996.
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, II, p. 1378, fig. 102, no. 49.

R22. Christina of Lorraine

c. 51 x 39 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 503.
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, I, pp. 669-670, fig. 31, no. 33.

R23.

R24.

R25.

R26. RECTO AND VERSO.

R27.

R23. Ferdinand I De' Medici

c. 51 x 39 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 504.
Part of a series of eleven medals with portraits of the Medici dynasty.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, II, p. 751, fig. 37, no. 78.

R24. Fragmentary Head of a High Prelate

Height *c.* 27 cm.
16th-17th century.
Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure, in. no. 909.
Maybe one of the eleven portrait medals in the Bargello Museum in Florence (see entries R13-R23).
PROVENANCE: Florence (?), Museo Nazionale (?).
LITERATURE: *Il Museo dell'Opificio...* 1978, no. 4.

R25. Cosimo I De' Medici

Height *c.* 71 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 1-1864.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Medici commission.
LITERATURE: LANGEDIJK 1981-1987, I, p. 477, no. 133.

R26. Savonarola

Height *c.* 47 cm.
16th century, work by Francesco Ferrucci, also known as Tadda.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Drouot auction house, Paris, 4 June 2007.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

R27. The Young Hercules

57 x 51 cm.
17th century, work by Tommaso Fedeli
Madrid, Prado Museum, inv. no. E-297.
PROVENANCE: Italy, sent to Philip IV from Cardinal Francesco Barberini.
LITERATURE: *Idea del Bello...* 2002, pp. 400-401, nos. 3-4; COPPEL AREIZAGA 1998, pp. 128-129, fig. 9, no. 39.

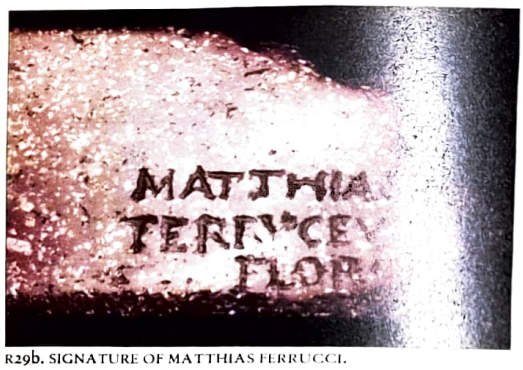
R28. Sacred Love Vanquishing Profane Love

57 x 113 cm.
17th century, work by Tommaso Fedeli.
Madrid, Prado Museum, inv. no. E-300.
PROVENANCE: Italy, sent to Philip IV from Cardinal Francesco Barberini.
LITERATURE: COPPEL AREIZAGA 1998, pp. 130-131, fig. 10, no. 40.

R29. Virgin of the Annunciation

Height *c.* 33 cm.
17th century, work by Matteo Ferrucci after 1653.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 289.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, London, 13 December 2000.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri* 2012, p. 91 no. II.62; *The Medici, Michelangelo and the Art...* 2002, no. 66.

R28.



R29b. SIGNATURE OF MATTHIAS FERRUCCI.

R30. Antonio Barberini

Height *c.* 65 cm.
1627, work by Tommaso Fedeli.
Rome, Basilica of Sant'Andrea della Valle, Barberini Chapel.
PROVENANCE: Barberini commission.
LITERATURE: FERRARI, PAPALDO 1990, p. 42.

R31. Camilla Barbadori

Height *c.* 65 cm.
1627, work by Tommaso Fedeli.
Rome, Basilica of Sant'Andrea della Valle, Barberini Chapel.
PROVENANCE: Barberini commission.
LITERATURE: FERRARI, PAPALDO 1990, p. 42.

R32. Pyrrhus

Height *c.* 55 cm.
17th century.
UK, Wilton House, inv. no. 1963,33.1.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Mazarin Collection.
LITERATURE: MICHAELIS 1882, p. 695 no. 121.

R33. Bas-Relief with Cherubs

Diameter *c.* 140 cm.
17th century.
Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure.
PROVENANCE: Rome, from a large *rota* of a floor pavement or a piece of a column; unfinished work carved in the Opificio's workshop.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

R34. Christ

42 x 26 cm.
Francesco Giudice (active in the 17th century).
Cesena, Cathedral of San Giovanni Battista.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

R29a.

R33.

R30.

R31.

R32.

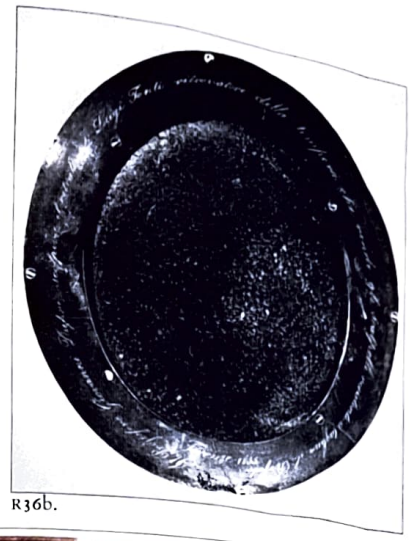
R34.

R35.

R37.

R38.

R36a.



R36b.

R39.

R35. Christ

53 x 37 cm.
18th-19th century.
Milan, Church of Sant'Alessandro, choir, rear part of altar.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

R36. Luigi Fonti

c. 38 x 27 cm.
1855, work by Giovanni Dupré.
Bergamo, Accademia Carrara (donated by Federico Zeri) inv. no. 98SCZR004.
The reverse of the bronze frame (R36b) bears the wording "Il professor Giovanni Dupré scolpiva il ritratto di Luigi Fonti ritrovatore della tempera che rende gli Scalpelli resistenti a tagliare il Porfido. Firenze 1855". ("Professor Giovanni Dupré carved the portrait of Luigi Fonti, discoverer of temper, that reinforces the Chisels to be able to cut the Porphyry. Florence 1855").
PROVENANCE: Rome, antique market.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri* 2012, p. 119 no. III.89; *La donazione Federico Zeri...* Bergamo, 2000, pp. 84-85; *Il conoscitore d'arte...* 1989, p. 76, no. 31; FALDI 1989, pp. 65-80.

R37. Four Crowned Martyrs

Height *c.* 26 cm.
1965.
Rome, Via Margutta, Fiorentini Gallery.
PROVENANCE: executed by Mario Fiorentini.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 231, fig. VIII.

R38. Cupid

c. 62 x 45 cm.
Modern imitation (?).
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, New York, 3 October 2007.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

R39. Putti and Cupids Playing

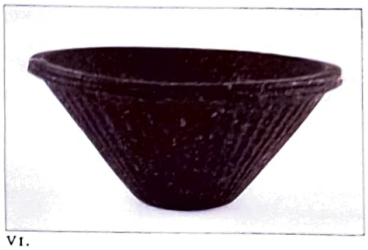
c. 50 x 40 cm.
Modern imitation (?).
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, New York, October 2006.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

Vases

V1. Truncated Cone-Shaped Fluted Bowl

Height 8.4 cm; diam. 19.4 cm.
Dynastic period or Ptolemaic.
Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire , inv. no. E4710.

PROVENANCE: excavations carried out in the area of Abydos in Egypt by Flinders Petrie.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 26, fig. 8; *Pierres égyptiennes...* 2000, p. 138, no. 29.


V1.

V2. Cup

Height *c.* 14 cm.
Ptolemaic or Roman Empire.
London, University College, inv. no. 5989.

PROVENANCE: archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V2.

V3. Canopic Jar

Height *c.* 29 cm; diam. *c.* 15 cm.
Roman Empire.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. N 1215.

PROVENANCE: possibly from Egypt. The jar was inventoried between 1852 and 1857 but bears a label *Cx 149* that would seem to correspond to the jar numeration determined by Champollion.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 46-47, no. 4; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 204-205, fig. 108.

V3.

V4. Small Vase

Height *c.* 5 cm.
1st-3rd century.
Rome, Vatican Museum, Pio Cristiano.

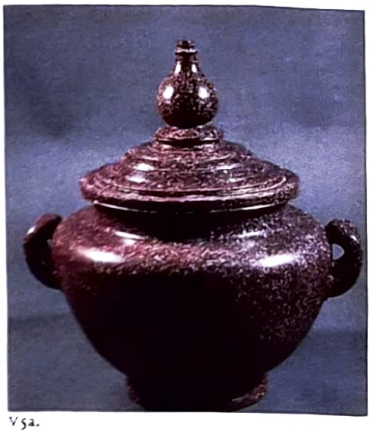
PROVENANCE: Catacombs excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V4.

V5. Vase with Cover

Height *c.* 43 cm.
Rome, 1st-2nd century.
Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, inv. no. 862.3.3, not on exhibition but in the "a la Reserve" Storerooms.

PROVENANCE: discovered in the mausoleum of the Tour-de-l'Horloge in Aix-en-Provence in 1786 and subsequently sent to the Musée Granet by the municipality of Aix-en-Provence in 1861. Compare the cover design with the drawing by Cassiano dal Pozzo (see V5b).
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 54-56, no. 9; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 200-201, fig. 104, pl. 94.


V5a.

V5b. WINDSOR, ROYAL LIBRARY, CASSIANO DAL POZZO DRAWING.

V6. "Marriage of Cana" Vase

Height *c.* 47 cm.
Roman Empire.
Angers, Cathedral Treasury, Musée des Beaux-Arts Storerooms, inv. no. 2200.
The vase has been restored; it was broken for the

V6.

V7.

V8.

V92.

first time in 1666 and on a second occasion in 1793. According to tradition, it was one of a group of six vases from the "Marriage of Cana".

PROVENANCE: possibly from Alexandria. Acquired by King René d'Anjou on 15 July 1449 from the prior of the Convent of San Paul in Marseille and given to Angers Cathedral on 19 September of the same year.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 80-82, no. 15; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 201-203, fig. 105, pl. 93.

V7. Vase / *Situla*

Height *c.* 25 cm; diam. *c.* 30 cm.
Roman Empire; compare this vase with the similar one, V6.
London, Rainer Zietz Collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, Paris, 3 October 2012, Arturo Lopez-Willshaw.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V8. Vase with Cover

Height *c.* 54 cm.
Roman, *c.* 1st-2nd century for the central mortar, the bronze mounts are from 1760-1765.
London, Wallace Collection.
PROVENANCE: Robert-Joseph Auguste (1723-1805).
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V9. Vase with Cover

Height *c.* 54 cm.
Rome, 3rd-4th century.
Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, inv. no. 860.1.719, not on exhibition but in the "a la Reserve" Storerooms.
PROVENANCE: Italy, donated to the museum in 1860 by Bourguignon de Fabregoules (inv. no. 70).
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 201, pl. 96.

V10. Vase / Urn / Mortar

Height *c.* 50 cm.
The body was a Roman urn; the cover may be later.
Rome, Antica Farmacia Pesci, used in the past as a mortar or pharmaceutical jar.
PROVENANCE: Rome, antiquities market, part of the pharmacy's historical fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V11. Vase / Mortar

Height *c.* 36 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Antica Farmacia Pesci, used in the past as a mortar or pharmaceutical jar.
PROVENANCE: Rome, antiquities market, part of the pharmacy's historical fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V12. "Marriage of Cana" Amphora with Volutes

Height *c.* 47 cm.
Roman Empire.
Pisa, Cathedral, lower south side of the presbytery, on a Porphyry column.
PROVENANCE: from the First Crusade, Holy Land (?).
LITERATURE: GIULIANO 2003, p. 15, fig. 9; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 208-209, pl. 99.

V13. "Marriage of Cana" Vase

Height *c.* 54 cm.
2nd-4th century.
Ravenna, Church of Santa Maria in Porto.
PROVENANCE: presumably arrived in Ravenna from Rome or from the East.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 209, pl. 94.

V14. Volute Krater

Height without corbel *c.* 80 cm.
4th-5th century; believed to be one of the "Marriage of Cana" wine containers.
Amalfi, Cathedral, first chapel on the left.
PROVENANCE: possibly Constantinople.
LITERATURE: GIULIANO 2003, p. 15, fig. 7; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 205, pl. 99.

V15. Volute Krater

Height without corbel *c.* 60 cm.
4th-5th century; believed to be one of the "Marriage of Cana" wine containers.
Assisi, San Francesco, Lower Basilica.
PROVENANCE: from the Cerchi family funerary monument (15th century).
LITERATURE: GIULIANO 2003, p. 15, fig. 8; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 205-206, pl. 99.

V9b. BOLOGNA, CIVIC MUSEUM.

V10.

V16. Vase / Baptismal Font

Height *c.* 50 cm.
4th–5th century.
Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople.
LITERATURE: GIULIANO 2003, p. 14, fig. 6.

V17. Vase / Baptismal Font

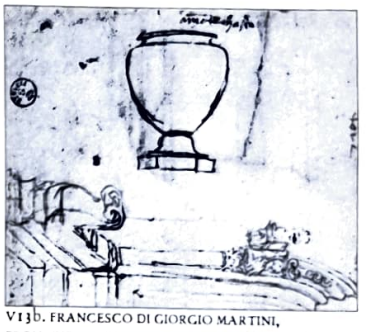
Height without corbel *c.* 60 cm.
4th–5th century.
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
PROVENANCE: Topkapi.
LITERATURE: GNOLI 1971, fig. 43.

V11.

V13a.

V14.

V12a.



V13b. FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO MARTINI, FROM THE DRAWING OF THE PORTA DI CAPUA, IN FLORENCE, UFFIZI.

V15a.

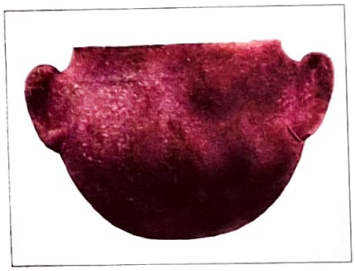
V16.

V12b. *BIBBIA AMIATINA*, FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, AMIATINO 1: *THE DESERT TABERNACLE.*

V15b.

V17.

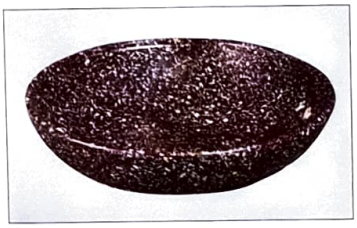
V18.

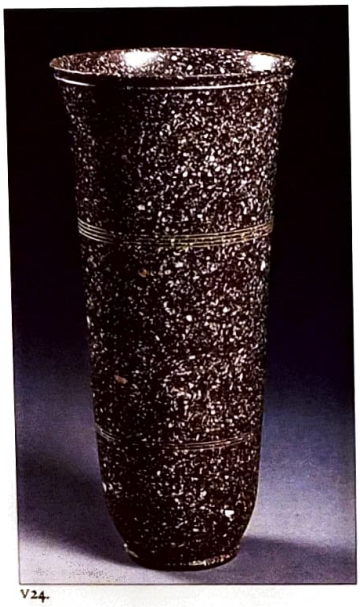

V19.

V20.

V21.

V22.


V23.


V24.

V18. "Marriage of Cana" Amphora

Unknown.
2nd century.
Once in San Germano (Cassino). According to tradition, it belongs to the group of "Marriage of Cana" vases and it is only known from a drawing by Giuliano da Sangallo, where it is described as a Porphyry vase.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 206-207, fig. 110.

V19. Vase

Diameter *c.* 50 cm.
Roman Empire.
Stolen on 12 July 2005, UK, Hever Castle, Astor Collection.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: ASTOR 1969, no. 93.

V20. Plate

Diameter *c.* 44 cm.
2nd century.
Berlin, Altes Museum, inv. no. Sk 2008.
Reassembled from ten restored fragments.
PROVENANCE: unknown (Rome).
LITERATURE: *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, p. 373, no. 73; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 195, fig. 98, pl. 97.

V21. Cup

Length *c.* 22 cm.
1st-2nd century.
Paris, Louvre inv. no. F783C.
PROVENANCE: palace of Fontainebleau.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V22. Small Dish For Cosmetics

Width 5.3 cm.
1st century.
Naples, National Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 77273 and 4636.
PROVENANCE: Pompeii.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 207-208, fig. 111.

V23. Bowl

Diameter *c.* 18 cm.
1st century.
Afghanistan, National Museum, inv. no. 04.1.67.
PROVENANCE: archaeological excavations in Afghanistan, Begram, room 13.
LITERATURE: *Afghanistan...* 2011, p. 201, no. 104.

V24. Cup Vase

Height *c.* 25 cm.
1st century.
Afghanistan, National Museum, inv. no. 04.1.65.
PROVENANCE: archaeological excavations in Afghanistan, Begram, room 13.
LITERATURE: *Afghanistan...* 2011, p. 201, no. 103.

V25. Vase

Length *c.* 75 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Bologna, Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Rom 1875.
This vase is similar to a shell-shaped basin that was once in Palazzo Colonna in Rome, of the same size but broken.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: BRIZZOLARA 1986, p. 108, no. 52, pl. 106; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 175, fig. 80.

V25.

V26. Vase with Ansa

Height *c.* 28 cm.
1st–2nd century.
Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure.
Vase belonging to the group of Roman artefacts produced for an imperial commission or certainly for one of great importance. The shaped surfaces are very precise and smooth; the handles, one missing, refined and elegant, are extracted from the same block of Porphyry. The distinguishing characteristic is that even under the base the medium has been shaped and smoothed with moulding, which, even if not always in view, was executed in a precise and sharp, but above all elegant, manner.
PROVENANCE: acquired in the 19th century.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V26a.

V26b.

V26c.

V27. Vase with Ansae

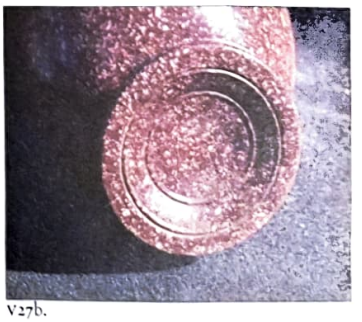
Height *c.* 33 cm.
1st–2nd century.
Paris, private collection.
Vase belonging to the group of Roman artefacts produced for an imperial commission or certainly for one of great importance. The shaped surfaces are very precise and smooth, the handles, also fine and elegant, are extracted from the same block of Porphyry. The distinguishing characteristic is that even under the base the medium has been shaped and smoothed with moulding, which, even if not always in view, was executed in a precise and sharp, but above all elegant, manner.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V27a.

V28a.

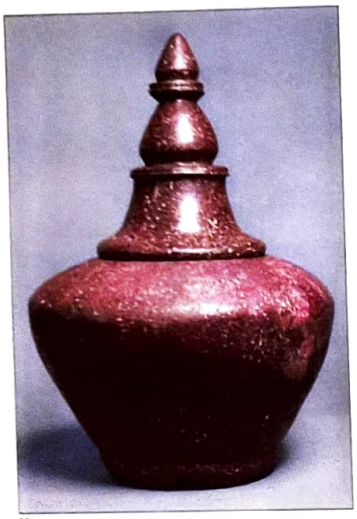
V28. Cista

Height *c.* 38 cm.
Roman Empire.
English antiquities market; Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.
This vase also forms part of the group of extremely luxurious and refined examples and, in this regard, see the photograph of the shaped base (V28b).
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, London, 3 December 2008.
LITERATURE: unpublished.


V27b.

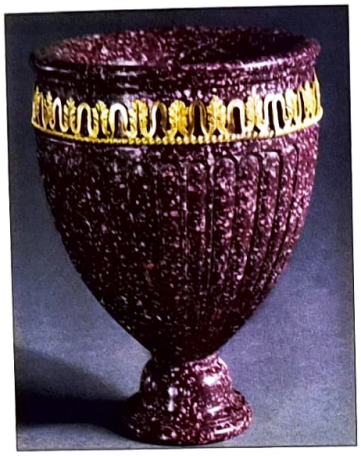
V28b.

V29.



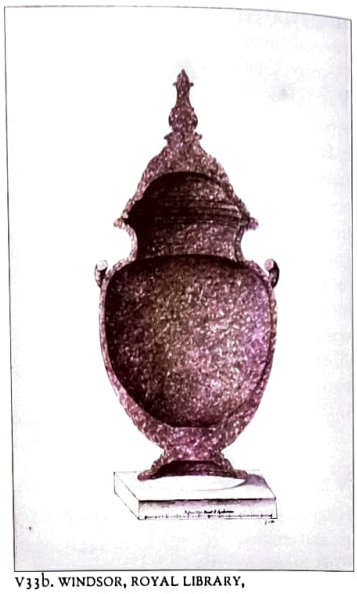
V30.

V31.



V32.

V33a.



V33b. WINDSOR, ROYAL LIBRARY, CASSIANO DAL POZZO DRAWING.

V29. Cista

Height *c.* 48 cm; diam. *c.* 47 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Benevento, Museo del Sannio, inv. no. 1927.
PROVENANCE: Benevento, Santa Sofia, cloister, from the Roman Iseo in Benevento.
LITERATURE: *Egittomania*... 2006, p. 143, no. II.104; *Iside. Il mito*... 1997, p. 665, no. XI.3; MÜLLER 1971, pp. 98–99; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 206, fig. 109.

V30. Vase / Urn

Height *c.* 40 cm.
Roman Empire or late antique.
London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V31. Vase

c. 28 x 33 cm.
2nd century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 12 December 2002; Christie's, Belgium, 10 May 2004.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V32. Cup

Height *c.* 16 cm.
Roman Empire or 17th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, New York, 26 January 2007.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V33. Urn

Height *c.* 40 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Museum, inv. no. 41.5.
PROVENANCE: Rome, acquired by Dumbarton Oaks Museum in 1941. Compare the cover design, with the drawing by Cassiano dal Pozzo in Windsor, Royal Library (see V33b).
LITERATURE: RICHTER, 1956 no. 13, pl. VI.

V34. Urn

Height *c.* 60 cm.
Rome, 2nd–3rd century.
Paris, Galerie Chenel.
Cineraria urn.
PROVENANCE: London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art; prev. auction Tajan 2004.
LITERATURE: *Marbre dans la Rome antique* 2010, p. 15.

V35. Vase

Height *c.* 36 cm.
Roman Empire.
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: Nicolas Landau Collection.
LITERATURE: VERVOORDT 2006, p. 16.

V36. Fragment of the "Jug of Cana"

Height *c.* 17 cm.
The vase fragment is probably from the Roman Empire and was mounted in a silver frame in the 17th century.
Hildesheim, Cathedral Treasury since 1839, inv. no. DS 5.
The Porphyry fragment is mounted in a silver vase-shaped setting.
PROVENANCE: gift from Emperor Otto III to his tutor, Abbot Bernard of Hildesheim, before 1002. Broken during turmoil on 30 March 1662.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 196–197, pl. 98.

V37. Vase

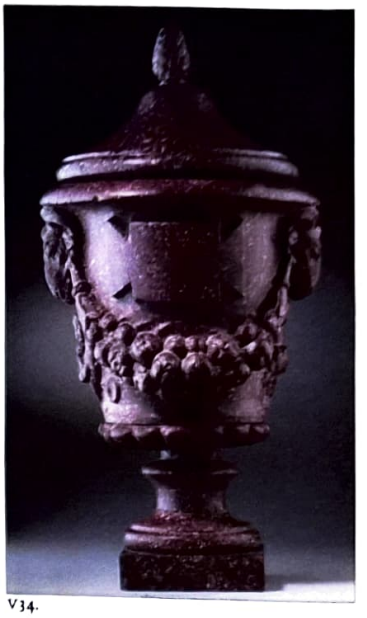
Height *c.* 38 cm.
Roman Empire (?) or late antique.
UK, Philip Hewat-Jaboor Collection.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V38. Suger's Eagle Vase, Abbot of Saint-Denis

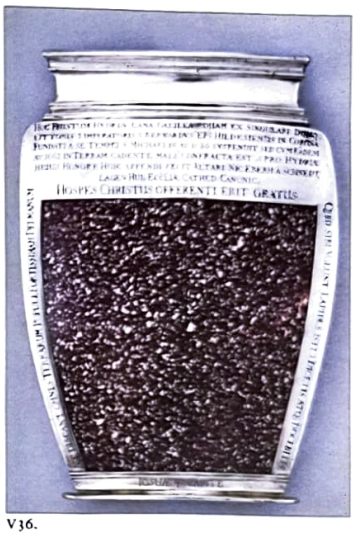
Height *c.* 43 cm.
Roman Empire (Porphyry); Paris, before 1147 (nielloed silver and gilt setting).
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 422.
On the neck: + *INCL/VDI/GE/MMI/S/LAPI-SISTE M/ERE/T/VR ET AVRO. / MARMORE RAT SED IN HIS MARMORE CARIOR EST.* Inscription by Suger: *INCLUDI GEMMIS LAPIS ISTE MERE-TUR ET AURO. MARMOR ERAT, SED IN HIS MARMORE CARIOR EST*; inscription on the base, in other writing: *SVGERI/VS.*
PROVENANCE: treasury of the Abbey of Saint-Denis; confiscated during the revolution; stored in the museum in 1793; inventory of 1807: "This urn is believed to have contained the ashes of Abbot Suger".
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 84-86, no. 17; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 203-204, fig. 107.

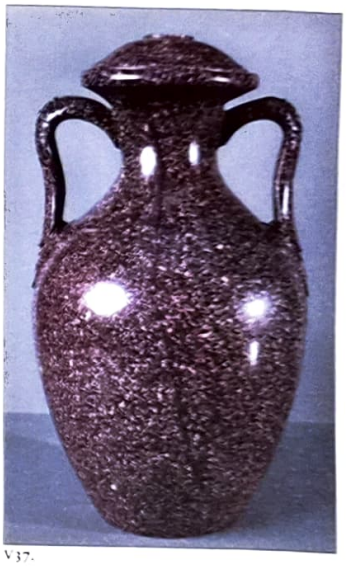
V39. Urn with Feline Head

Height *c.* 50 cm.
2nd century (?), Louis XV setting.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 2818 (?).
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 158, no. 58; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 204, pl. 92.


V34.

V35.


V36.


V37.

V38a.

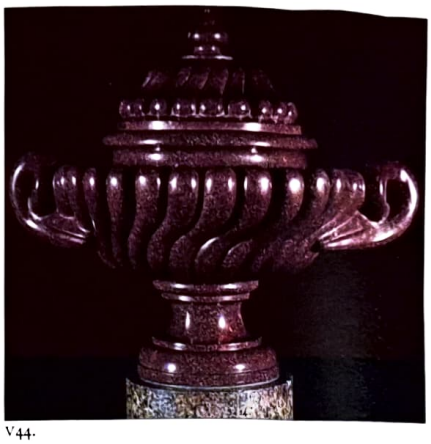
V38b. ACCESS SUGER, DETAIL OF THE ENGRAVING [illegible]

V39a.

V39b.

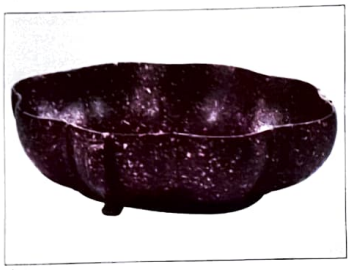
V40.

V42.



V44.

V41.



V43.

V45.

V40. Vase

Height *c.* 31 cm.
17th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Paris, ex-collection Nicolas Landau; Rome.
LITERATURE: VERVOORDT 2006, p. 37.

V41. Vase

Height *c.* 40 cm.
17th century.
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: Paris, ex-collection Nicolas Landau; Rome.
LITERATURE: VERVOORDT 2006, p. 37.

V42. Chalice

Height *c.* 26 cm.
15th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Paris, ex-collection Nicolas Landau.
LITERATURE: VERVOORDT 2006, p. 36.

V43. Lobed Cup Vase

Diameter *c.* 18 cm.
16th-17th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 7 July 2011.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V44. Vase

Height *c.* 78 cm.
17th century.
Rome, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj.
PROVENANCE: Rome, workshop of Silvio Calci.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2003, p. 131; *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 108, fig. 53; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 210-211, pl. 89, 91.

V45. Vase

Height *c.* 29 cm.
17th century.
Rome, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj.
PROVENANCE: Rome, workshop of L. Nizza.
LITERATURE: *I marmi colorati della Roma imperial* 2002, p. 583 no. 351; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 210-211, pl. 91.

V46. Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 55 cm.
17th century.
France, private collection.
PROVENANCE: antique market; can be traced back to the workshop of Silvio Calci (1620-1650) in Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V47. Ottoman Tombak Vessel Lid

Length *c.* 36 cm.
17th century, this Porphyry lid probably comes from a Roman 17th-century vase, similar to V45.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, London, 3 October 2012.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V48. Vase

Height 32 cm.
17th century.
Rome, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, private apartment.
PROVENANCE: Rome, workshop of Silvio Calci.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 108, fig. 52; *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, pp. 581-582, no. 350; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 210-211, pl. 91.

V49. Vase

Height *c.* 63 cm.
17th century.
Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 211, pl. 95.

V50. Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 58 cm.
17th-18th century.
Rome, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome, antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V51. Oval Boat Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 48 cm; width *c.* 53 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. N 15930-15966.
PROVENANCE: Rome (?).
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 113, no. 26.

V52. Urn of Saint Marie Magdalene

Length *c.* 55 cm.
c. 1632, workshop of Silvio Calci.
France, Var, Saint Maximin.
The urn was donated by the Archbishop of Avignon to Saint Marie Magdalene to contain her relics, and blessed by Pope Urban VIII in 1634 and deposed in front of King Louis XIV in 1660.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Silvio Calci commissioned by Archbishop of Avignon in 1630.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V46.

V49.

V50.

V47.

V48.

V51.

V52.

V53.

V54.

V55.

V56b. PARIS, LOUVRE, GIOVANNI ANGELO CANINI DRAWING.

V56a.

V57.

V58.

V59.

V60.

V61.

V53. Large Vase with Pod Decoration

Height 59 cm; width 80 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 2839 (OA 9214).
PROVENANCE: Royal Collections.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 113–114, no. 27.

V54. Large Vase with Pod Decoration

Height *c.* 60 cm; width *c.* 77 cm.
Rome, 17th century; defined "antik?" by Delbrueck.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. OA 9213.
PROVENANCE: Cardinal Mazarin Collection or from the Royal Collections.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 141, no. 48; DELBRUECK 1932, fig. p. 193.

V55. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 56 cm.
Rome, first half of the 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. OA 9223bis.
PROVENANCE: acquired in Rome before 1633 for Cardinal Richelieu; old fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V56. Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 56 cm; width *c.* 52 cm; diam. *c.* 34 cm.
Rome, first half of the 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. OA 9223 and 9224.
From 1722: "a Porphyry urn of one foot and 9 inches high and 14 inches in diameter; the cover is fluted and the body, from the neck to under the belly, is decorated with serpentine motif rods. The ansae are in the form of two sorts of horns / Another analogous one is missing the cover finial".
PROVENANCE: acquired in Rome before 1633 for Cardinal Richelieu; in 1722 situated in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 125–126, no. 36.

V57. Vase

Height *c.* 43 cm; width *c.* 43 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. OA 9218.
PROVENANCE: Cardinal Mazarin Collection, acquired by Colbert for the Crown in 1665; it was part of the Louis XIV Collection, together with V58.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre* 2003, p. 126, no. 37.

V58. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 49 cm; width *c.* 48 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. OA 9219 and OA 9220.
PROVENANCE: in the Cardinal Mazarin Collection, presumably acquired by Colbert for the Crown in 1665; in the collection of Louis XIV, together with V57.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 127, no. 38.

V59. Vase with Pod Decoration

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. OA 9239.
The vase was part of a pair but the location of the second vase is unknown. It has a gesso cover.

PROVENANCE: in the Cardinal Mazarin Collection (?); collection of Louis XIV; in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles in 1722; confiscated during the revolution; Louvre; registered at Maisons-Laffitte from 1912 to July 1937.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 139, no. 45.

V60. Vase, One of a Pair

23 cm; width 28 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 5204.

PROVENANCE: Louis XIV Collection; inventoried in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles in 1722, location of the other vase is unknown.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 139, no. 46.

V61. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 57 cm; width *c.* 52 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. OA 9225 and OA 9226.

PROVENANCE: collection of Louis XIV; in 1722 in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 140-141, no. 47.

V62. Vase

Height *c.* 37 cm; diam. without the ansae *c.* 33 cm.
17th century.
UK, Richmond, Doughty House.

PROVENANCE: antique market, presumably in Rome.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 200, pl. 90.

V63. Vase

Height *c.* 92 cm; diam. *c.* 51 cm.
17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. Ma 3136.

PROVENANCE: Château de Malmaison from 1807 to 1877 (cited in the inventory drawn up after the death of Josephine in June 1814, cf. Grandjean 1964, no. 1571 p. 202).
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 24-25, no. 1; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 203, pl. 98.

V64. Vase with Dolphins

Height *c.* 52 cm; width *c.* 48 cm.
Rome, late 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. OA 9230.

PROVENANCE: commissioned in Rome and sent to Louvois from La Teulière on 3 June 1685; Luigi XIV Collection; Versailles, the War Room, 1722. A pair of very similar vases were exported to the United States in 1998 and are now on the English antique market.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 146-147, no. 52.

V62.

V64.

V66.

V65. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 63 cm.
Probably produced in Rome in the 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. MR 2818 and MR 2817.

One of the two vases (inv. no. MR 2817) has been stripped of the bronze mounts and base (nowadays in painted wood, see V65b). The following entry illustrates a vase on the Parisian antique market that is identical to this pair. My idea is that the Porphyry base and the bronze mounts of the vase in the Louvre (V65b, inv. no. MR 2817) were removed, who knows when, to be reassembled on the vase of the following entry, which today is on the Parisian antique market (see V66).

PROVENANCE: collection of the Marquis de Marigny, acquired by the Crown in 1779; inventoried in the Louvre in 1807 with its counterpart stripped of the bronze mounts and base (inv. no. MR 2817).
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 138, nos. 58-59; VERLET 1987, pp. 61, 178, fig. 58.

V63.

V65b.

V65a.

V66. Mounted Vase

Height 62 cm.
Rome, 17th-century Porphyry bronze mounts and base; 19th or 20th-century Porphyry body and stopper.
Paris, on the antique market.
My idea is that the Porphyry base and the bronze mounts of the vase in the previous entry (V65b, Louvre inv. no. MR 2817) were removed, who knows why or when or by whom, to then be reassembled on this vase, which today is on the

V67.

V68.

V69.

V70.

V71.

V72.

V73.

V74.

Parisian antique market (see photograph; observe the patina between the bronze mounts and the Porphyry base, both antique). Note also the body and the cover of the vase are both modern and executed in a different manner.

PROVENANCE: private collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V67. Vase

Height *c.* 52 cm.
First half of the 17th century.
Austria, Odermatt Collection.

PROVENANCE: Rome, antique market; from the workshop of Silvio Calci.
LITERATURE: *Art Treasures*, Manchester 1857.

V68. Cassolette (Incense Burner) Mounted on Tripod Base

Height *c.* 50 cm; width *c.* 23 cm.
Paris, last third of the 18th century.
Paris, Louvre, Department of Decorative Arts, inv. no. OA 5269.

PROVENANCE: Egmont-Pignatelli Collection; Tuileries Palace; assigned from the Mobilier National, 1901.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, pp. 168-169, no. 62.

V69. Mounted Vase

Height *c.* 53 cm; width *c.* 19 cm.
Paris, *c.* 1790.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. OA 6620.

PROVENANCE: acquired by the Comtesse du Barry from Daguerre et Lignereux on 1 May 1792.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, pp. 169-170, no. 63.

V70. Vase with Serpents, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 102 cm.
Rome, last third of the 18th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. MR 2812 and MR 2813.

PROVENANCE: collection of the Duc de Cossé; Louveciennes; collection of Mme du Barry; exhibited in the Museum galleries in 1793; Tuileries Palace.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, pp. 170-171, no. 64.

V71. Vase with Rams Heads, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 102 cm; width *c.* 60 cm.
First half of the 18th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. MR 2863 and MR 2864.

PROVENANCE: Richelieu's Marshal commissioned Guillemain in 1762; acquired by the Duc d'Aumont (1782 inventory, no. 583); purchased by dealer, Paillet, for Louis XVI (Paris, 1782).
LITERATURE: *The Greek Taste*... 2008, no. 8; *Porphyre*... 2003, pp. 173-174, no. 65.

V72. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 38 cm.
Rome, *c.* 1770.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. MR 2825 and MR 2826.

PROVENANCE: collection of the Duc d' Aumont (1782 inventory, no. 584); purchased at the sale of the Duc d'Aumont's Collection by Julliot for Louis XVI (Paris, 1782).
LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, pp. 175-176, no. 67.

V73. Pair of "Etruscan" Vases

Height *c.* 34 cm.
Late 18th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. MR 2821 and MR 2822.

PROVENANCE: collection of the Duc d' Aumont (1782 inventory, no. 585); acquired at the sale of the Duc d'Aumont's Collection by Julliot for Louis XVI (Paris, 1782).
LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, pp. 176-177, no. 68.

V74. Knurled Vase, One of a Pair

Height 74 cm.
17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. MR 2814, MR 2815.
The ansae are in the form of grotesque and horned satyr masks.

PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V75.

V76.

V77.

V78.

V79.

V83.

V81.

V82.

V75. Soup Tureen

Height *c.* 40 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 2855 (OA 9234). The counterpart was put in store at the Château de Écouen (MR 2856; OA 9235) in 1978.
PROVENANCE: collection of Louis XIV; inventoried in 1722 in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles; confiscated during the revolution.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 115, no. 29.

V76. Soup Tureen, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 39 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 2850 (OA 9236). The counterpart, whose cover went missing in 1824, has not been located (MR 2851).
PROVENANCE: collection of Louis XIV; inventoried in 1722 in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles; confiscated during the revolution.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 115, no. 30.

V77. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 48 cm.
c. 1770.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. OA 5185.
PROVENANCE: assigned from the Ministry of Agriculture.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V78. Vase Decorated with Grotesque Masks

Height *c.* 58 cm.
17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR2838.
PROVENANCE: old fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V79. Knurled Vase

Height *c.* 65 cm.
17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. OA9222.
PROVENANCE: old fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V80. Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 55 cm.
17th century.
Paris, Fleury Collection.
PROVENANCE: Parisian antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V81. Vase

Height 80 cm.
18th century.
Paris, Galerie J. Kugel.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V80.

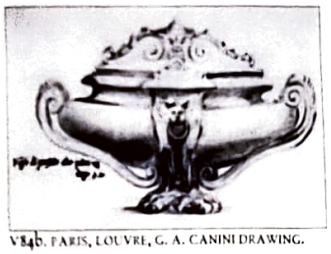
V82. Vase with Serpents

Height *c.* 72 cm; width *c.* 54 cm; depth *c.* 40 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Château de Maisons-Laffitte, inv. no. MR 2816 (N 15 349).
PROVENANCE: acquired by Louis XVI for the Louvre on 9 February 1784 at the Montribloud sale (no. 123).
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 114, no. 28; LAFABRIE 2002, p. 204, n. 18.

V83. Vase with Serpents, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 68 cm.
Rome, 18th century.
UK, Buckinghamshire, Waddesdon, Waddesdon Manor, inv. nos. 144.1995.1-2.
PROVENANCE: France.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V84a. WASHINGTON, NATIONAL GALLERY, STOREROOMS.



V84b. PARIS, LOUVRE, G. A. CANINI DRAWING.

V84c. FROM *PORPHYRE*... "LOCALISATION ACTUELLE INCONNUE".

V84. Vase

Length *c.* 78 cm.
Rome, first half of the 17th century.
Washington, National Gallery, Storerooms (added in 1953), believed to be lost.

PROVENANCE: purchased in Rome before 1633 for Cardinal Richelieu. A. G. De Marchi drew the author's attention to the vase in the storerooms of the National Gallery of Washington, who identified it as the one in a drawing by Giovanni Angelo Canini (V84b) and the b/w picture in *Porphyre*... given as lost (V84c).

LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, p. 125, fig. 61.

V85. Pair of Vases Mounted as Incense Burners

Height *c.* 38 cm.
17th century.
Fontainebleau, Palace.
Late 17th century for the vases; the gold and bronze mounts realised *c.* 1770 in Paris.

PROVENANCE: Royal Collection.

LITERATURE: unpublished.

V85.

V87.

V86. Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 72 cm.
17th century.
Fontainebleau, Palace, inv. no. F1712C.

PROVENANCE: Royal Collection.

LITERATURE: unpublished.

V87. Vase with Ansae and Cover

Height *c.* 87 cm.
c. 1650.
Madrid, Prado Museum, inv. no. O00495.

PROVENANCE: Royal Collection. The museum's collection of Porphyry vases comes from acquisitions carried out by Philip IV through his ambassadors and viceroys, from Roman antique dealers and from auctions of noble collections.

LITERATURE: GONZALEZ-PALACIOS [n.d.], p. 36.

V88. Vase

Height *c.* 63 cm.
17th century.
Madrid, Prado Museum, inv. no. O00492.

PROVENANCE: Royal Collection; Marquis Del Carpio, together with a 1682 drawing that is in London, Society of Antiquaries.

LITERATURE: GONZALEZ-PALACIOS [n.d.], p. 36.

V88a.

V86.

V88b. LONDON, SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, 1682.

V91.

V89. Vase

Height *c.* 70 cm.
17th century.
Madrid, Prado Museum, inv. no. O00491.

PROVENANCE: Royal Collection.

LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, p. 127, fig. 62.

V89.

V95.

V96.

V90.

V93.

V92.

V94.

V90. Saltcellar

Diameter *c.* 14 cm.
17th century.
Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.
PROVENANCE: belonged to Marquis of Carpio.
LITERATURE: GONZALEZ-PALACIOS [n.d.], p. 220.

V91. Drawing

Unknown.
17th century.
London, Society of Antiquaries.
PROVENANCE: drawing of a Porphyry vase that belonged to the Marquis of Carpio.
LITERATURE: GONZALEZ-PALACIOS [n.d.], p. 35.

V92. Basin

Height *c.* 20 cm; diam. *c.* 88 cm.
17th century.
Rome, Borghese Gallery, Room IV, inv. no. CLXVI.
PROVENANCE: Rome, workshop.
LITERATURE: MORENCO, VIACAVA 2003, pp. 207-208, no. 190; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 185, fig. 90.

V93. Vase

Height *c.* 65 cm.
17th-18th century.
Brescia, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Roman antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V94. Vase

Height *c.* 34 cm.
17th century.
Paris, antique market.
PROVENANCE: Paris, antiquarian Kugel.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V95. Boat Vase

Length 36 *c.* cm.
17th century.
Paris, antique market.
PROVENANCE: Paris, antiquarian Kugel; Marquis de Bute.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V96. Vase

Width *c.* 52 cm.
17th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 8 December 2011.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V97. Vase, One of a Pair with Rams Heads

Height *c.* 41 cm; width *c.* 47 cm.
Rome, late 17th century.
Écouen, National Renaissance Museum, inv. nos. OA 9227 and OA 9228.
PROVENANCE: commissioned in Rome and sent to Paris in 1685; collection of Louis XIV; Versailles, the Peace Room, 1722.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 146, no. 51.

V98. Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 34 cm; width *c.* 41 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. no. N 15204.
PROVENANCE: Royal Collections; inventoried in Versailles in 1826, subsequently at Saint-Cloud.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 139, no. 44.

V99. Vase with Dogs, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 70 cm.
Rome, late 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. nos. MR 2837-2838.
PROVENANCE: commissioned in Rome and received in March 1685; collection of Louis XIV; Versailles, Hall of Mirrors, 1722.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 145, no. 50; FOSSIER 1997, p. 611, no. 13; HOOG 1976, p. 152, fig. 8.

V100. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon, inv. nos. SSN378 and SSN379.
PROVENANCE: commissioned in Rome in the 17th century.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003; HOOG 1976.

V101. Vase

Height *c.* 33 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: commissioned in Rome in the 17th century.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003; HOOG 1976.

V102. Vase

Height *c.* 37 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: commissioned in Rome in the 17th century.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003; HOOG 1976.

V97.

V100.

V98.

V101.

V99.

V102.

V103.

V103. Vase

Height *c.* 72 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: commissioned in Rome in the 17th century.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003; HOOG 1976.

V104.

V105.

V106.

V108.

V107.

V109.

V110.

V104. Vase

Height *c.* 34 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: commissioned in Rome in the 17th century.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003; HOOG 1976.

V105. Vase

Height *c.* 33 cm.
Rome, 17th century.
Versailles, National Museum of the Château of Versailles and the Trianon.
PROVENANCE: commissioned in Rome in the 17th century.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003; HOOG 1976.

V106. Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 60 cm.
c. 1780.
California, Los Angeles, Jean Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 74.DJ.24.
The two vases can be compared to the pair in the Louvre (MR 2825-2826) that were in the collection of the Duc d'Aumont.
PROVENANCE: Paris
LITERATURE: WILSON, HESS 2001.

V107. Vase with Cover

Height *c.* 33 cm.
18th century.
Rome, Villa Albani, inv. no. 938.
PROVENANCE: news of the discovery during excavations in Porto is implausible.
LITERATURE: BOL 1989, I, pp. 206-207, no. 65, pl. 115.

V108. Vase

Height *c.* 55 cm.
France, *c.* 1764.
London, Wallace Collection, central staircase.
PROVENANCE: Jacques Adam, sculptor; Charles de Wailly (1730-1798) draughtsman.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V109. Urn

Height *c.* 39 cm.
17th-18th century.
London, private collection.
PROVENANCE: sold at auction by Sotheby & Co., 29 June 1931, no. 228.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 199, fig. 103.

V110. Vase with Cover

Height *c.* 72.5 cm; width *c.* 56 cm.
c. 1850.
London, Wallace Collection.
PROVENANCE: Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquis of Hertford, from 1865.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 144, fig. 67.

V111.

V111. Vase with Cover

Height *c.* 74 cm.
1786.
London, Wallace Collection.
PROVENANCE: in Hertford House from 1870, purchased by Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquis of Hertford.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V112. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 51 cm.
18th century.
Fontainebleau, Palace.
PROVENANCE: old fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V113. Pair of Vases with Frogs

Height 59.5 cm.
18th century.
Fontainebleau, Palace, inv. no. F799C.
PROVENANCE: old fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V114. Vase

Height *c.* 83 cm.
Second half of the 18th century.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A9-1941.
PROVENANCE: made in Italy, donated by Dr W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V112.

V113.

V115.

V115. Vase

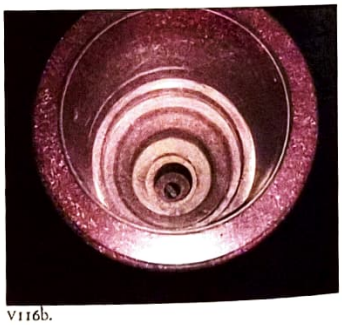
Height *c.* 45 cm.
18th century.
Rome, Quirinal Palace.
PROVENANCE: royal fonds.
LITERATURE: *Fasto Romano...* 1991, p. 206, no. 166, pl. XL.

V116. Vase

Height *c.* 65 cm.
18th-19th century.
Antique market.
PROVENANCE: Paris.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V114.

V116a.



V116b.

V117.

V120.

V117. Amphora

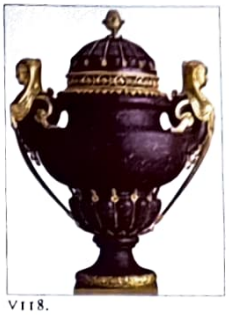
Height *c.* 73 cm.
18th century.
Florence, Pitti Palace.
PROVENANCE: old fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V118. Vase

Height *c.* 58 cm.
c. 1770.
London, Royal Collection, inv. no. RCIN 4605.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V119. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 25 cm.
18th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 122.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 12 December 2002.
LITERATURE: unpublished.



V118.

V119.

V121a.

V121b. ENGRAVING FROM DIDEROT.

V122.

V120. Oval Bowl

Height *c.* 60 cm.
18th century.
Paris, Steinitz Gallery.
PROVENANCE: Parisian antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V121. Vase

Height *c.* 75 cm.
18th century.
Rome, Vatican, Gallery of Maps.
PROVENANCE: donated by Pius VI.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V122. Small Sarcophagus-Shaped Vase

Length *c.* 38 cm.
18th century.
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: photograph from the photographic archive of G. Cellini.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

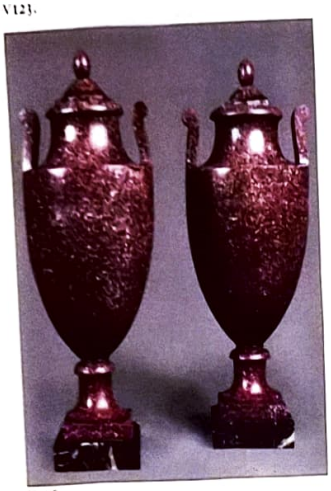
V123. Vase

Height *c.* 45 cm.
18th century.
London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V124. Vases with Dolphins

Height *c.* 52 cm.
Rome, 18th century.
London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V123.



V126.

V124.

V127.

V125.

V128a.

V128b. PHOTO ALINARI ARCHIVE, 1880-1890, FROM GENOA, VILLA MYLIUS.

V125. Vase with Cover

Height 66 cm.

c. 1760-1770.

London, private collection; Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.

PROVENANCE: Wildestein Collection; sold at auction at Christie's King Street, London, 14-15 December 2005, sale no. 7171, lot 126.

LITERATURE: unpublished.

V126. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 50 cm.

18th century.

London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.

PROVENANCE: antique market.

LITERATURE: unpublished.

V127. Fruit Stand

Height *c.* 28 cm.

18th century.

London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.

PROVENANCE: antique market.

LITERATURE: unpublished.

V128. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 100 cm.

18th century.

UK, private collection.

This pair of vases was inspired by 17th-century prototypes, such as those in *Raccolta di vasi diversi* by Stefano della Bella, *c.* 1664. The Duc d'Aumont (1709-1782) introduced the fashion of *pietre dure* objects to Paris. It was recently demonstrated by Bernard Rondat that all the Porphyry vases were made in Rome, some to French designs of the time.

PROVENANCE: Genoa, Villa Mylius; Italian antique market and subsequently on the English antique market (see V128b).

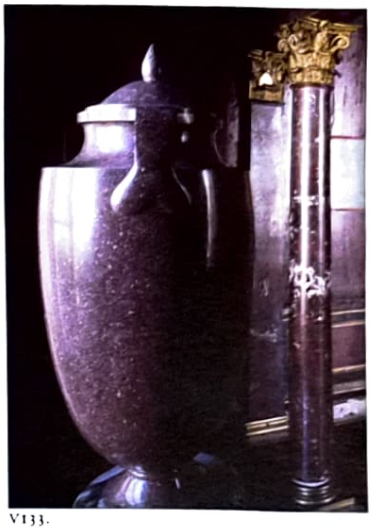
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V129.

V130.

V131.

V132.



V133.

V134a.

V134b. ENNEMOND-ALEXANDRE PETITOT'S, 1764 DESIGN FROM *SUITE DE VASES*.

V135.

V129. Fruit Stand

Height *c.* 26 cm.
18th century.
UK, Philip Hewat-Jaboor Collection.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V130. Soup Tureen

Height *c.* 40 cm.
18th century.
Moscow, the Moscow World Fine Art Fair.
PROVENANCE: antique market; passed through Sotheby's, New York.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V131. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 50 cm.
18th-19th century.
Moscow, the Moscow World Fine Art Fair.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V132. Amphora Vase

Height *c.* 80 cm.
Rome, 18th century.
On antique market.
Displayed in the exhibition *Art Treasures*, Manchester 1857. This vase is identical to V133 and may once have formed a pair.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 10 July 1987.
LITERATURE: VERMEULE, VON BOTHMER 60(1956) p. 336; DELBRUECK, 1932, p. 245; *EA* 3100.

V133. Doubled-Handled Vase

Height *c.* 80 cm.
Rome, 18th century.
Saint Petersburg, Tsarskoe Selo, Agate Rooms.
PROVENANCE: old fonds, Italy. Maybe this vase is related (once a couple) to V132.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V134. Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 40 cm.
Louis XVI, *c.* 1780.
Greece, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 8 July 2010; Athens, Demidoff family, 3rd Prince of San Donato.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V135. Vase

Height *c.* 40 cm.
18th century.
California, Los Angeles, Jean Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 83.DJ.16.1-2.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: WILSON, HESS 2001, p. 139, no. 281; *Some Acquisitions (1983-1984)*... 1983, pp. 384-388.

V136. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 40 cm.
Louis XVI, *c.* 1780 after a drawing by A. Petitot.
Canada, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's London, from Houghton Hall, 7th Marquis of Cholmondeley.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V136.

V137.

V140.

V141.

V138.

V142.

V139.

V143.

V137. Vase with Cover

Height *c.* 41 cm.
c. 1775.
California, Los Angeles, Jean Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 73.DJ.88.
PROVENANCE: Paris.
LITERATURE: WILSON, HESS 2001, p. 140, no. 283.

V138. Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 56 cm.
Rome, 18th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: James and Alphonse De Rothschild; Christie's, Paris, 7 December 2005.
LITERATURE: *Catalogue des livres du cabinet de feu M. Randon de Boisset...* 1777.

V139. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 90 cm.
Louis XV (?), *c.* 1760.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, New York, 21 October 2011.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V140. Vase / Urn

Height *c.* 72 cm.
18th century (?).
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, Antwerp, 12 May 2004.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V141. Vase

Height *c.* 50 cm.
18th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 296.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V142. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 39 cm.
18th century.
London, Wallace Collection.
PROVENANCE: purchased by Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquis of Hertford; unknown author.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V143. Vase, One of a Pair

Height *c.* 80 cm.
18th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Milan, Colnaghi Gallery.
LITERATURE: *Fasto Romano...* 1991, p. 208, no. 168.

V144. Vase

Height 46 cm.
Late 18th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, New York, 19 October 2006.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V144.

V145. Vase

Width 30 cm.
Late 18th century.
Private collection.

PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 6 July 2012; Lord Wharton.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V146. Vase, One of a Pair with Small Heads

Height *c.* 39 cm.
Early 19th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. nos. 234a-234b.

PROVENANCE: Christie's, Amsterdam, 14 February 2006.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V147. Semi-Finished Vase

Diameter *c.* 55 cm.
19th century.
Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure.
Semi-finished by the Opificio workers.

PROVENANCE: Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure, external storage.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V148. Two Vases

Height *c.* 72 cm.
1810, Sweden, royal commission.
London, antique market (P. Petrou).

PROVENANCE: Paris, Didier Aaron; Luffness House (1923).
LITERATURE: *The Wallace Collection...* 2003, III, p. 1397.

V145.

V146.

V147.

V149. Vase

Height *c.* 47 cm.
1884, signed on the base Henry Dasson.
Paris, antique market, Chadelaud.

PROVENANCE: private collection.
LITERATURE: GALLERI SEDELMEYER 1890.

V150. Various Vases

Height amphora 66 cm.
Roman Empire (?).
Unknown.

PROVENANCE: Vigna Piccolomini, behind San Lorenzo, acquired by Clement XI (then in Villa Albani in Rome?).
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 209-210.

V148.

V149.

V151. Oil Lamp

Unknown.
Roman Empire.
Lost.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura, noticed by Pope Leo III.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 211.

V152. Vase

Unknown.
Unknown.
Cambridge, Anglesey Abbey.

PROVENANCE: Richmond, Cook Collection; Este/Modena Collection, inv. no. *D* 193.
LITERATURE: VERMEULE 59(1955), p. 130; STRONG 1908, p. 42, no. 68; MICHAELIS 1882, p. 627, no. 13.

V153.

V154.

V155.

V153. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 46 cm.
Modern imitation.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 23 April 2009.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V154. Vase

Height *c.* 34 cm.
Modern imitation.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, New York, 5 September 2002.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V155. Vase

Height *c.* 45 cm.
Modern imitation. Copy of the vase in Angers (see V6).
Antique market.
PROVENANCE: Brussels, auction house 2008.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V156. Pair of Vases

Height *c.* 30 cm.
Modern imitation.
Antique market.
PROVENANCE: Hampel auction house, Munich, 9 December 2006, no. 9959.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V157. *Labrum*

Diameter *c.* 89 cm; width *c.* 119 cm.
Modern imitation.
Antique market.
PROVENANCE: Artcurial auction house, Paris, 18 December 2008, no. 87.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

V156.

V157.

Sarchophagi and Bath Tubs

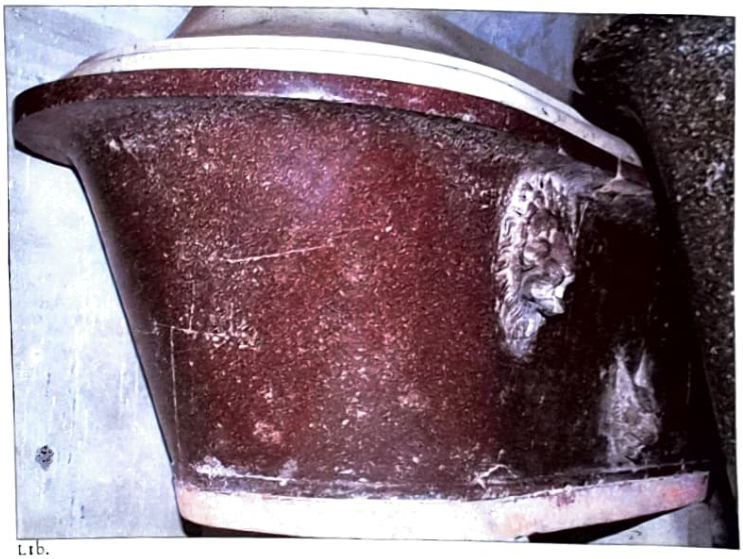
L1. Bath on the Left

c. 210 x 90 x 55 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Basilica of the Santi Quattro Coronati, semicircular crypt under the high altar.
This bath is one of the most decorated of this period. There are two lion-like protomes on the back, today positioned against the wall of the crypt (see L1d) and one can see two lion-like protomes and a lynx's face that are identical to those on the baptismal font in Milan Cathedral on the recto.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Baths of Caracalla.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, pp. 230-233, fig. VI; AMBROGI 1995, pp. 112-115, no. B.I.35-36; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 168.

L2. Bath on the Right

c. 205 x 85 x 50 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Basilica of the Santi Quattro Coronati, semicircular crypt under the high altar.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Baths.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, pp. 230-233, fig. VI; AMBROGI 1995, pp. 112-115, no. B.I.35-36; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 168.

L1a, L2a.


L1b.

L1c.

L1d.

L2b.

L3.

L5a.

L5b.

L3. Bath

c. 210 x 82 x 50 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, under the high altar.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, pp. 115-116, no. B.I.37; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 168, pl. 79.

L4. Bath

c. 176 x 95 x 60 cm.
1st-2nd century.
Rome, Basilica of Santi Apostoli, Chapel of Saint Eugenia.
The bath was used as an urn to house the remains of the fourteen Martyr Saints. Delbrueck (on p. 167) talks of two baths in the Basilica of the Santi Apostoli, found according to Martinelli in 816 and rediscovered in 1625, but they are no longer visible.

L4a.

L4b.

PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, pp. 61-65, no. A.I.1; GNOLI 1988, p. 54; ZOCCA 1969, p. 15, p. 79; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 167.

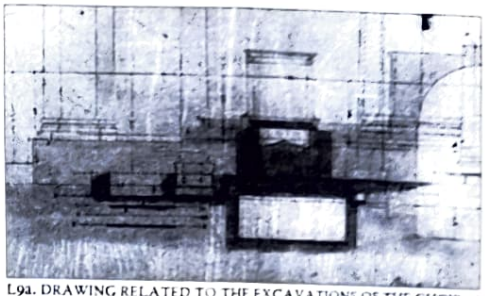
L5. Bath

c. 290 x 110 x 74 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Tarragona, Monastery of the Sante Creus.
Peter of Aragon, who died in 1285, is buried inside. It may originally have been the tomb of Constans I, son of Constantine.
PROVENANCE: Mausoleum of Centcelles.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, p. 107, no. B.I.30; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 169.

L6.

L7.

L8.



L9a. DRAWING RELATED TO THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE CHOIR OF THE BASILICA IN MILAN IN 1864-1865.

L6. Bath

c. 223 x 57 x 58 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Milan, Cathedral, baptismal font.
The bath is integral. The central animal is a lynx.
PROVENANCE: Milan, Herculean Baths.
LITERATURE: BUGINI, FOLLI 2005, p. 162; AMBROGI 1995, pp. 108-109, no. B.I.31; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 166, fig. 73.

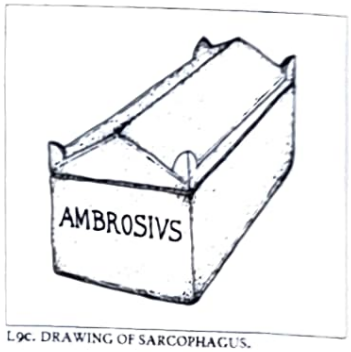
L7. Brecciated Porphyry Bath

c. 228 x 112 x 70 cm.
2nd century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 993 (old inv. no. 438).
Ring handles are situated on both of the long sides.
PROVENANCE: Borghese Collection.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 60-61, no. 12; AMBROGI 1995, p. 106, no. B.I.28; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 165-166, pl. 78.

L8. Bath

Length *c.* 235 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, inv. no. 1917.226.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 61, n. 5, fig. 23.

L9b. DRAWING OF ALTAR AND SARCOPHAGUS.



L9c. DRAWING OF SARCOPHAGUS.

L9. Sarcophagus

c. 180 x 91 x 85 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Milan, Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, under the high altar of Bishop Englebert II.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: *Milano capitale dell'impero...* 1990, pp. 127-129, no. 2a.28; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 220, fig. 114.

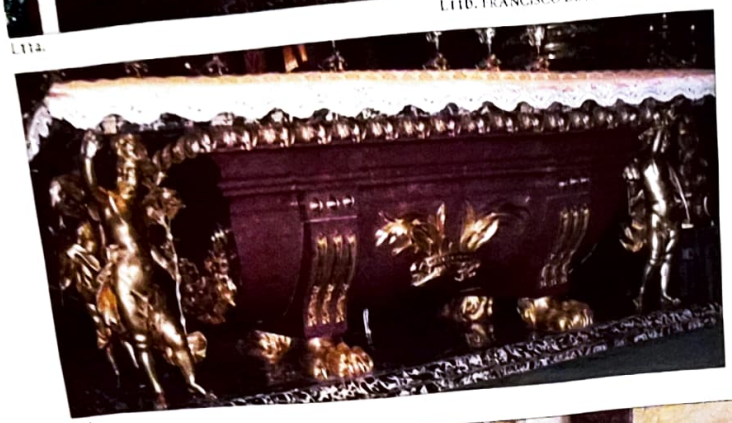
L10.

L10. Bath

c. 167 x 110 x 70 cm.
2nd century (according to Delbrueck).
Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, under the altar table of Saint Helen.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, pp. 65-68, no. A.I.2; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 155, pl. 77.

L11a.

L11b. FRANCISCO DE HOLLANDA.



L12.

L13.

L14.

L11. Bath

c. 238 x 133 x 135 cm; bath height *c.* 81 cm.
2nd century.
Rome, Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, Corsini Chapel, tomb of Clement XII.
The lid is modern.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Baths of Agrippa.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, pp. 68-74, no. A.I.3; GNOLI 1971, p. 55.

L12. Bath

c. 210 x 130 x 66 cm.
2nd century.
Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, high altar.
The Porphyry bath is from a Roman thermal bath complex; the bronze parts were added in the 18th century.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, pp. 74-82, no. A.I.4.

L13. Bath (Urn of Caylus)

c. 108 x 100 x 58 cm.
2nd century. Clarac doubts its antiquity, believing it to be from the Norman period.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 905.
PROVENANCE: Rome, acquired in 1750 by the Count of Caylus, who subsequently decided to use it for his tomb.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 163-167, no. 60; AMBROGI 1995, pp. 84-87, no. A.I.6.

L14. Basin

c. 168 x 85 x 100 cm.
2nd-4th century.
Rome, Borghese Gallery, Room V, inv. no. CLXV.
The basin was reworked in 1779 and reused as a fountain.
PROVENANCE: Rome; according to Nibby, it comes from Hadrian's Mausoleum.
LITERATURE: MORENO, VIACAVA 2003, pp. 203-204, no. 203; AMBROGI 1995, pp. 82-84, no. A.I.5.

L15.

L16a.

L16b. PIRANESI ENGRAVING.

L16c. DRAWING OF POUSSIN SCHOOL.

L15. Sarcophagus Cover in Saint Peter's

c. 368 x 190 cm (original measurements of cover).
2nd century.
Rome, Basilica of Saint Peter's, Baptismal Chapel.

PROVENANCE: Rome, according to tradition it comes from Hadrian's Mausoleum. Having been transferred to the Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano during the period of Pope Innocent II (1143), the sarcophagus case was then destroyed in a fire. Since the 17th century, the cover has been incorporated into the baptismal font chapel of Saint Peter's. It must not be confused with the "*labrum sine operculi porphyreticum*" cover of the sarcophagus of Otto II. Grimaldi's drawing is very precise; it does not show a spherical calotte, as in this case a bit "apse-shaped", but one with very squared corners and moulding (see entry L34).

LITERATURE: LANCIANI 2004, p. 126; TOMEI 1998, pp. 101-114; ZANELLA 1994, pp. 24-25; PIETRANGELI 1989a, p. 188; D'ONOFRIO 1971; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 216.

L16. Sarcophagus of Saint Helen

c. 242 x 268 x 184 cm.
2nd-4th century.
Rome, Vatican, Pius-Clementine Museum, Greek Cross Room, inv. no. 238.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Mausoleum of Saint Helen; Tor Pignattara along the Via Casilina, transferred in the 11th century to the Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano and finally to the Vatican.

LITERATURE: SPINOLA 1999, pp. 305-306, no. 72, figs. 47-48; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 215-216, pl. 100.

L17a.

L17d. XVII CENTURY ENGRAVING.

L17b. DRAWING BY BRUNO BELAU, 1684.

L17c. PIRANESI ENGRAVING.

L18.

L19.

L17. Sarcophagus of Constantina

c. 225 x 233 x 155 cm.

3rd-4th century.

Rome, Vatican, Pius-Clementine Museum, Greek Cross Room since 1788, inv. no. 237.

Probably carved in the workshops in Alexandria.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Via Nomentana, Mausoleum of Constantina.

LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 114, figs. 411-412; SPINOLA 1999, p. 305, no. 71, figs. 46-47; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 219, pl. 104.

L18. Bath

c. 170 x 70 x 49.5 cm.

2nd-4th century or Late Antiquity (?), similar to the one in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Paris, Louvre, MND1585 (old inv. no. Ma 3388), known as the "Dagobert" bath.

PROVENANCE: Paris, Basilica of Saint-Denis.

LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 88-89, no. 19; AMBROGI 1995, pp. 169-170, no. B.III.101.

L19. Bath

c. 69 x 183 x 48 cm.

2nd-4th century or Late Antiquity (?), similar to the "Dagobert" bath in the Louvre, that was from the Basilica of Saint-Denis.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 2009.543.

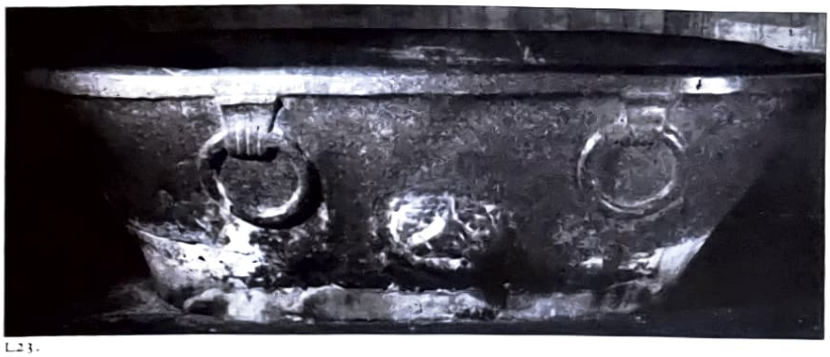
PROVENANCE: gift of Lewis M. Dubroff, on the occasion of the reinstallation of the Greek and Roman galleries.

LITERATURE: unpublished.

L20.

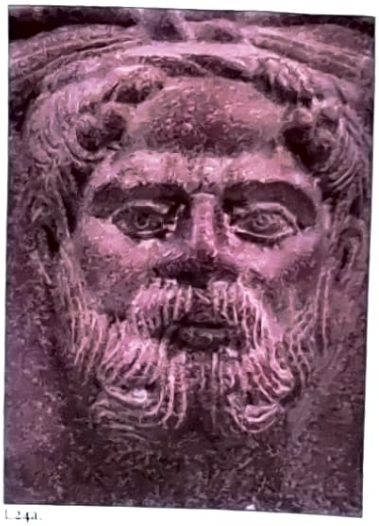
L21a.

L22.



L23.

L21b.



L24a.

L24b.

L20. Bath

Length *c.* 185 cm.
2nd–4th century.
Mons Porphyrites (?), lost.
The bath was abandoned in the quarries because it was imperfect; the fractures emerged during the rough-hewing. This piece is the confirmation that the Porphyry works were rough-hewn in the quarry (therefore lightened), to be then transported to Rome, where the works were completed and polished.
PROVENANCE: Mons Porphyrites, quarries.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, pp. 106–107, no. B.I.29.

L21. Bath

c. 334 x 100 x 90 cm.
3rd–4th century.
Rome, Basilica of San Bartolomeo all'Isola.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, pp. 111–112, no. B.I.34; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 167, pl. 79.

L22. Bath

c. 305 x 190 x 101 cm.
3rd–4th century.
Ravenna, Mausoleum of Theodoric, upper floor.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 59, fig. 97; AMBROGI 1995, pp. 109–111, no. B.I.32; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 166–167, pl. 80.

L23. Bath

c. 295 x 156 x 92 cm.
3rd–4th century.
Metz, Cathedral of Saint Étienne, baptismal font, inv. no. M1391.
PROVENANCE: Metz, public baths.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, pp. 105–106, no. B.I.27; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 165, fig. 72.

L24. Sarcophagus Cover, Heads

Length *c.* 180 cm x width 110 cm.
4th century.
Alexandria, Museum.
PROVENANCE: discovered in Alexandria in 1894 in an Arab bath.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 219, pl. 105.

L25.

L25. Sarcophagus

c. 390 x 210 x 310 cm.

The Constantinopolitan use can be dated to the 4th century, but it is a sarcophagus that has been reused from the kingdom of Lagides.

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3155.

Possibly used for the tomb of Emperor Julian, The use of an existing monument (presumably from the Ptolemaic period) could have been due to the haste with which they had to proceed with the funeral.

PROVENANCE: Constantinople, Mausoleum, east side.

LITERATURE: ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER, EFFENBERGER 2006, no. 4; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 4, 223 no. 1, pls. 5, 107.

L26.

L26. Sarcophagus

c. 298 x 329 x 206 cm.

4th century.

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3156, transferred to the museum in 1916/1917.

Uncertain attribution: the names of Constantius II, Theodosius I and Marcian have been suggested. A cross within a circular wreath is set within the tympanum, with tapeworm.

PROVENANCE: Constantinople, Hagia Eirene.

LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 52, fig. 83; ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER, EFFENBERGER 2006, pl. 9; PASINLI 2001, p. 111; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 224-225, no. 6, pl. 109.

L27.

L27. The So-Called Sarcophagus of Theodosius I

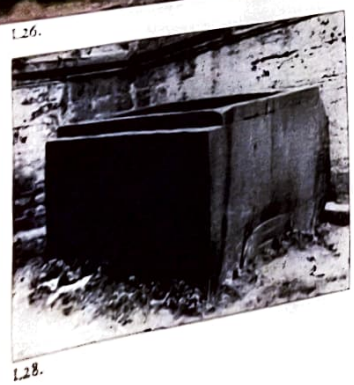
c. 320 x 348 x 218 cm.

4th century.

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3154.

PROVENANCE: Constantinople, Mausoleum, north side.

LITERATURE: ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER, EFFENBERGER 2006, pl. 4-5; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 224, no. 5, pl. 109.



L28.

L28. Sarcophagus

c. 258 x 176 x 129 cm.

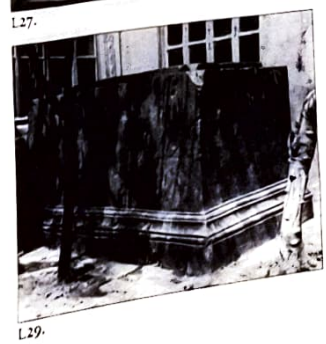
4th century.

Istanbul, Nur-u Osmaniye.

Case without profile or lid. Uncertain attribution, possibly for Valentinian I or Constantia.

PROVENANCE: Constantinople.

LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 223, no. 3, pl. 108.



L29.

L29. Sarcophagus

160 x 295 x 190 cm.

4th century.

Istanbul, Hagia Eirene, courtyard, inv. no. 609.

Sarcophagus with uncertain attribution, possibly for Valentinian I or Constantia.

PROVENANCE: Constantinople, Church of the Apostles.

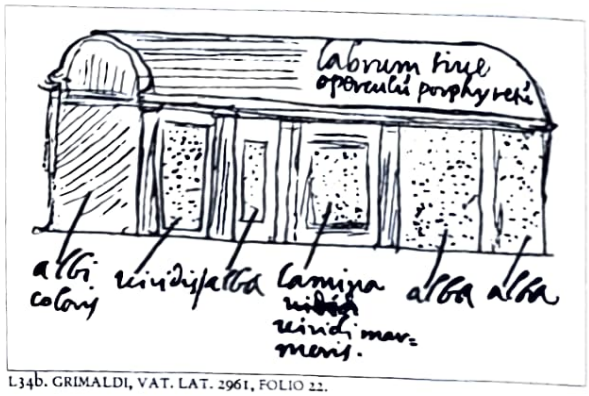
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 225, no. 7, pl. 110.

L31.

L30.

L34a. ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT (F71), POSSIBLY PART OF OTTO II'S SARCOPHAGUS.

L32.



L34b. GRIMALDI, VAT. LAT. 2961, FOLIO 22.

L30. The So-Called Sarcophagus of Arcadius

c. 160 x 293 x 191 cm.
4th century.
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2391.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople, southern stoa, Church of the Apostles.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 225, no. 8, pl. 110.

L31. The So-Called Sarcophagus of Eudoxia

c. 283 x 320 x 191 cm.
4th century.
Istanbul, Hagia Eirene, courtyard, inv. no. 608.
Tympanum-shaped sarcophagus.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople, southern stoa, Church of the Apostles.
LITERATURE: GNOLI 1988, fig. 135.

L32. Sarcophagus Cover

c. 180 x 105 x 85 cm.
4th century.
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3157.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople, southern stoa, Church of the Apostles.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 225-226, fig. 117.

L33. Sarcophagus of Marcian and Pulcheria

Unknown.
4th-5th century.
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople, Mausoleum, north-east side.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 222.

L34. Sarcophagus of Otto II

Length *c.* 350 cm.
Reuse from the 4th or the 10th century.
Unknown.
After the drawing by Grimaldi (1568-1623) that depicts the sarcophagus of Otto II in the Old Basilica of Saint Peter's, the body of which is made up of slabs of different marbles, we can see the semi-cylindrical shape of the cover (segmental arch-shaped) that is identified as Porphyry in the inscription: *labrum sine operculo porphyreticum* (see L34b). Delbrueck includes the photograph of a corner of a sarcophagus cover that is located in the Museo delle Terme storerooms in Rome (Delbrueck, fig. 55, see L34a). We believe that it is likely that this fragment could be part of the lid of the sarcophagus of Otto II (which in turn might have reused the cover from another famous porphyritic sarcophagus, that of Nero) due to the exceptional similarity to the drawing and for the uniqueness of the arch shape (see L15).
PROVENANCE: Rome, from the Paradise in the old

L35.

L37b.

L36.

Vatican Basilica.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 214.

L35. Small Italian Porphyry Bath

c. 96 cm.
4th–6th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 292.
This Late Antiquity bath was carved from a single block of Italian-Bolzano Porphyry.
PROVENANCE: Cahn auction house, Basel, 19 September 2008.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

L36. Sarcophagus of William I

Length *c.* 243 cm.
12th century; reused (?) by William I (1131–1166).
Monreale (Palermo), Cathedral.
Damaged in the fire of 1811.
PROVENANCE: material from Rome, Roman marble cutters with Sicilian-Arab workers; it could be one of the sarcophagi that Ruggero II had made for Cefalù in this example too.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932.

L37. Sarcophagus of Frederick II

c. 143 x 236 x 92 cm.
12th century; reused by Frederick II (1194–1250).
Palermo, Cathedral, second chapel on the right.
PROVENANCE: material from Rome; Roman marble cutters with Sicilian-Arab workers; it is one of the sarcophagi commissioned by Ruggero II for his own tomb in the Cathedral of Cefalù.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 127, fig. 240; *Federico e la Sicilia* 2000, II, pp. 38–41, no. 2, figs. 2.1–2.6; DELBRUECK 1932, pl. 112.

L38. Sarcophagus of Henry VI Hohenstaufen

c. 128 x 237 x 103 cm.
12th century; it had already been made before the birth of Henry VI (1165–1197), as it was allocated to Ruggero II in the Cathedral of Cefalù.
Palermo, Cathedral, first chapel on the right.
Material from Rome; Roman marble cutters with Sicilian-Arab workers; it is one of the sarcophagi commissioned by Roger II for his own tomb in the Cathedral of Cefalù.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: *Federico e la Sicilia* 2000, II, pp. 36–37 no. 1, figs. 1.1–1.2; DELBRUECK 1932, pl. 111.

L39. Sarcophagus of Constance of Altavilla

132 x 236 x 91 cm.
Late 12th – early 13th century, before 1215, the year in which the Cefalù sarcophagi arrived in Palermo.
Palermo, Cathedral, first chapel on the right.
This sarcophagus, compared to those of Frederick II and Henry VI, is made up of more than one piece and of fragments joined together, a sign that the monolithic material was scarce.
PROVENANCE: material from Rome; Roman marble cutters with Sicilian-Arab workers; it is one of the sarcophagi commissioned by Ruggero II for his own tomb in the Cathedral of Cefalù.
LITERATURE: *Federico e la Sicilia* 2000, II, pp. 42–43, figs. 3.1–3.2.

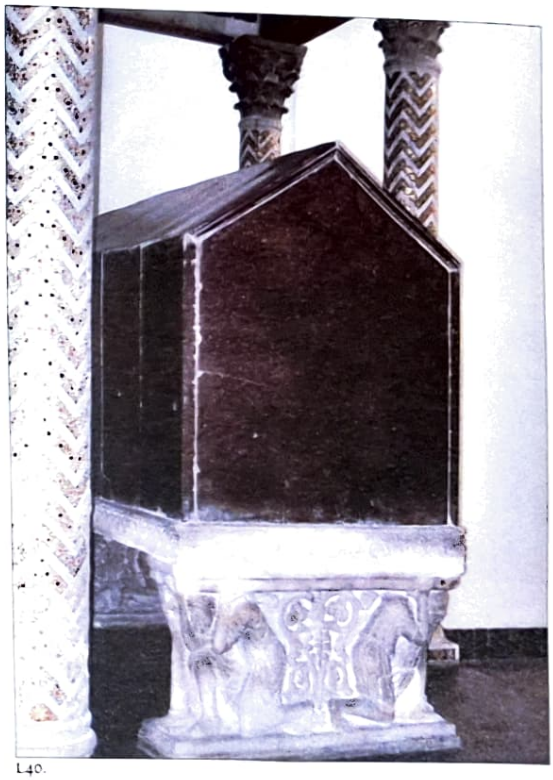
L40. Sarcophagus of Roger II

c. 176 x 233 x 95 cm.
Late 12th century.
Palermo, Cathedral, second chapel on the right.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: *Federico e la Sicilia* 2000, II, pp. 44–45, no. 4, figs. 4.1–4.2.

L.37a.

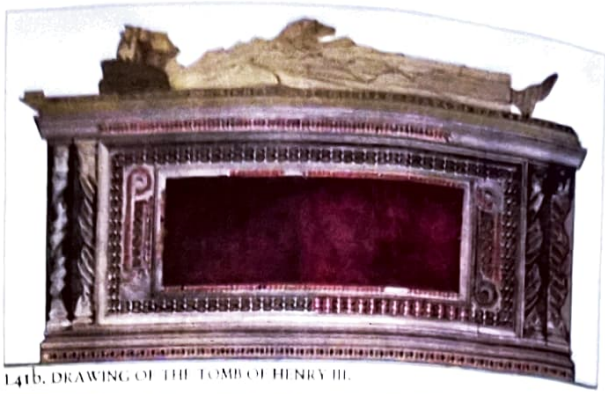
L.38.

L.39.



L.40.

L41a.



L41b. DRAWING OF THE TOMB OF HENRY III.

L42.

L43.

L44.

L41. Tomb of Henry III

Length *c.* 235 cm.
13th century.
London, Westminster Abbey.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Roman marble cutters.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 192 fig. 362.

L42. Urn of Saint Pancras

Length *c.* 220 cm.
16th century.
Rome, Basilica of San Pancrazio, sarcophagus-urn situated under the altar.
PROVENANCE: Rome, made by the Roman marble cutters.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

L43. Bath

190 x 289 cm.
Carlo Lucatelli (known to be active on this commission 1791-1792); Antonio Asprucci (1723-1808).
Rome, Church of San Salvatore in Lauro, high altar.
PROVENANCE: commissioned by the Curia.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

L44. Bath

Length *c.* 240 cm.
Uncertain.
Rome, Church of San Pantaleo.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 168.

L45. Bath

Length *c.* 220 cm.
Uncertain.
Rome, Basilica of Sant'Eustachio.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 168.

L46. Altar of Umberto I

Height *c.* 155 cm.
1900, carved by the sculptor Giuseppe Sacconi (1854-1905).
Rome, Pantheon.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 190, fig. 86.

L47. Bath

Unknown.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Vatican, under the altar of Saints Simon and Jude.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Vatican, altar of Saints Simon and Jude.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, p. 176 no. 114; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 168.

L48. Bath

Unknown.
Roman period.
Lost.
PROVENANCE: Rome. In 1049, the bath was situated under the high altar of the Church of Santa Maria in Via Lata; it was subsequently removed in 1491 and transported in separate pieces in the 17th century to the Church of San Ciriaco, where it was also placed under the high altar.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, pp. 176-177 no. 115; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 167.

L49. Bath

Unknown.
Roman Empire (?).
Lost.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, tomb of Innocent V. This monument was then lost in the 16th century.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, p. 177 no. 116; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 168.

L50. Sarcophagus Cover

c. 181 x 118 cm.
4th century.
Alexandria, Museum.
PROVENANCE: discovered in 1894 in an Arab bath.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 219, pl. 105.

L51. Sarcophagus

Unknown.
Before AD 428.
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: an undecorated Porphyry sarcophagus was seen in Tigranocerta, Armenia, by the orientalist Carl Ferdinand Lehmann-Haupt (1861-1938).
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 227.

L52. Tomb

Unknown.
Roman Empire (?).
Lost. The sarcophagus was donated by Francesco Sforza to Pandolfo Malatesta, but trace of it was lost in Rimini.
PROVENANCE: Milan, Basilica of San Vittore al Corpo in the Mausoleum of Saint Gregory.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 220.

L45.

L46.

Labra

L53. *Labrum*

c. 95 x 52 cm; *c.* 36 x 43 cm; *c.* 38 x 35 cm.
Roman Empire.
Berlin, Schloss Glienicke, fitted in the wall of III sector G, inv. no. Gl. 160.
Three fragments.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Baths of Caracalla.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 175-176, no. L. 3; GOETHERT 1972, p. 47, no. 222 a, b, c, pl. 82.

L53.

L54.

L54. *Labrum*

Diameter *c.* 188 cm.
2nd century.
UK, Richmond, Doughty House.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 176-177, no. L. 4; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 175, figs. 77-78, pl. 86.

L55. *Labrum*

Height *c.* 59 cm; diam. *c.* 296 cm.
2nd century.
Naples, National Archaeological Museum, Farnese Collection, inv. no. 6021.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Baths of Caracalla.
LITERATURE: GASPARRI 2010, p. 105, no. 37, pl. LXXVI nos. 1-5; AMBROGI 2005, pp. 182-187, no. L. 8; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 178-181, figs. 82-85, pl. 81.

L55a.

L56. *Labrum*

Diameter *c.* 205 cm.
2nd century.
Rome, Villa Giulia Museum, given in judicial custody to the Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Etruria Meridionale (Archaeological Superintendence of Southern Etruria). It was impounded after an attempt to export it to the US.
PROVENANCE: Farnese Collection.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 210-212, no. L. 22; PULVERS 2002, p. 183, no. 205; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 181, fig. 86.

L55b.

L55c.

L57. *Labrum*

Diameter *c.* 250 cm.
Late 3rd century.
Florence, Bardini Museum, inv. no. 242.
PROVENANCE: Florence, Peruzzi Palace (?).
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 177, no. L. 5; NERI LUSANNA, FAEDO 1986, p. 199, no. 22, figs. 30-31; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 175, pl. 88 a-b.

L58. *Labrum*

Height *c.* 43 cm; diam. *c.* 256 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Florence, Pitti Palace, Sala della Tazza, inv. no. 1536.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Villa Medici. It arrived in Florence from the Villa Medici in Rome in 1789 in terrible condition and was restored in the first half of the 19th century. For this reason, a marble foot with bas-reliefs was commissioned from Giovanni Duprè, but it was never executed.
LITERATURE: *Palazzo Pitti...* 2003, pp. 154-163, p. 611, no. 154 with figure; AMBROGI 2005, pp. 178-179, no. L. 6; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 176-177, pl. 85.

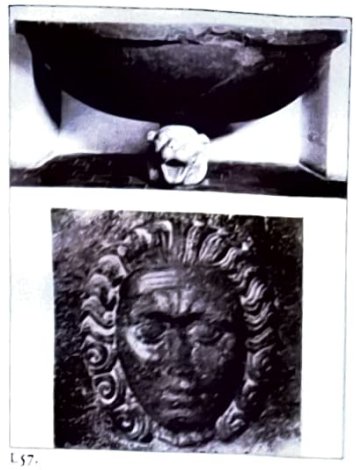
L59. *Labrum*

Diameter *c.* 271 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Verona, Basilica of San Zeno.
PROVENANCE: Verona, Thermal Baths.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 188-191, no. L. 11; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 190, fig. 96, pl. 86.

L60. *Labrum*

Diameter *c.* 476 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Vatican, Pius-Clementine Museum, inv. no. 261.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Roman Forum.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 191-199, no. L. 12; SPINOLA 1999, pp. 243-244, no. 1; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 188-190, pl. 84.

L.56.



L.57.

L.58.

L.59.

L60.

L61.

L61. *Labrvm*

Diameter *c.* 285 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore.
PROVENANCE: Tivoli, Hadrian's Villa.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 199-201, no. L. 14; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 187-188, fig. 93, pl. 83.

L62.

L62. *Labrvm*

Hypothetical diameter 350 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Museum of the Imperial *Fora*.
PROVENANCE: Rome, *Templum Pacis*.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 203-209, no. L. 19; *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, pp. 398-399, no. 104.

L63. Baptismal Font

Diameter *c.* 110 cm; support height *c.* 73 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Magdeburg, Cathedral.
This is the Roman base of a large *labrvm* that has been overturned and hollowed out to hold the baptismal water.

L63.

PROVENANCE: Rome. Taken to Magdeburg for the construction of the Cathedral by Otto I in the 10th century AD.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 345-346, no. S.2; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 173-175, figs. 75-76.

L.64.

L.66a.

L.66b. DRAWING BY LOUIS BOITTE, 1870.

L.65.

L.67.

L.68.

L64. Base for a Plinth of *Labrum*

Diameter *c.* 200 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Naples, Archaeological Museum.
PROVENANCE: archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

L65. *Labrum*

Diameter *c.* 140 cm.
3rd century.
Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, "The Customs" courtyard.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Villa Medici.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 179–182, no. L. 7; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 177, fig. 81, pl. 87.

L66. *Labrum*

Diameter *c.* 150 cm.
3rd century.
Venice, Basilica of San Marco, on the right-hand side of the central nave.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 188, no. L. 10; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 190, figs. 94–95.

L67. *Labrum*

Diameter *c.* 135 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
UK, Cambridgeshire, Emperors' Walk, part of the garden at Anglesey Abbey.
PROVENANCE: believed to have come from Richmond, Doughty House. In the past, it was located at Burrow Hill, near Chertsey.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

L68. *Labrum*

c. 90 cm.
Antiquity or 16th century by Francesco Ferrucci del Tadda (?).
Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 178.

Columns

C1. Column

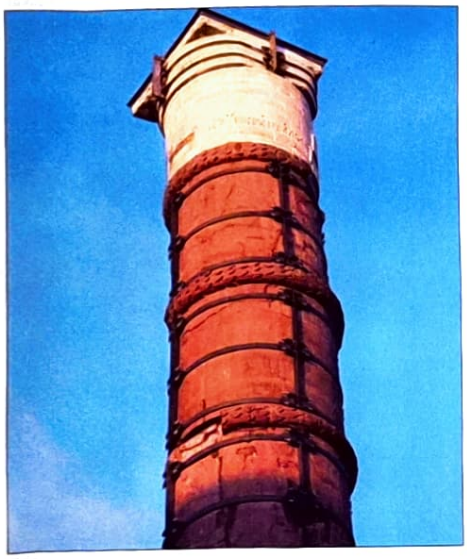
Height *c.* 18 m.
Roman Empire.
Istanbul.
Six Porphyry drums, originally possibly eight.
PROVENANCE: Egypt or Rome.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 78, fig. 136; *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 68, fig. 28; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 140–145.

C2. Groups of Tetrarchs from Two Columns

Height groups *c.* 155 cm; hypothetical height of the columns 9–12 m.
4th century.
Venice, Piazzetta San Marco, corner of the Ducal Palace.
PROVENANCE: from the honorary columns of the *Philadelphion* in Constantinople (Istanbul).
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 46, fig. 69; *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 34–35; L'ORANGE 1984, p. 103; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 84–91, pls. 31–34.

C3. Two Columns with Groups of Tetrarchs

Height *c.* 320 cm.
Late 3rd–early 4th century.
Rome, Vatican Museum, Library.
According to Delbrueck, they portray the two groups of tetrarchs depicting the emperors of the first tetrarchy: Diocletian–Maximian and Constantius I–Galerius.
PROVENANCE: Rome, commissioned by Diocletian probably for the Temple of the Sun built during Aurelian's rule.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 44, fig. 65; *Porphyre...* 2003, p. 36, fig. 12; L'ORANGE 1984, pp. 99–100; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 91–93, fig. 34, pls. 35–37.


C1a.

C1b.

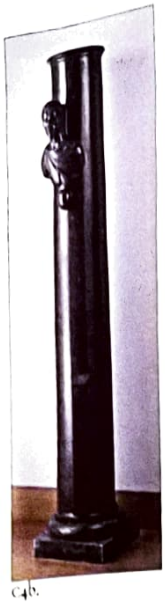
C1c.

C2.

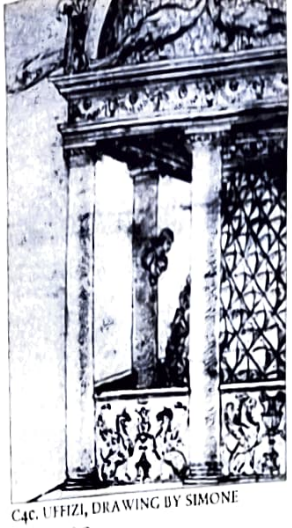
C3a.

C3b.

C4a.



C4b.



C4c. UFFIZI, DRAWING BY SIMONE POLLAIOLO.

C5.

C4. Columns with the Busts of Nerva and Trajan

Height *c.* 236 cm; diam. *c.* 35 cm.
Rome, 2nd century.
Paris, Louvre, Department of Decorative Arts.
Nerva: inv. no. MR 1090 (Ma 1068, OA 9054); Trajan: inv. no. MR 1091 (Ma 1069, OA 9055).

These portrait busts have certainly been repolished and the Porphyry is of the type found in the district of Lepsius (see section "Porphyry Samples" at the end of this book and compare the type of Porphyry with entries F21a-b) which would unite it to the bust of the pseudo-Constantine in the Vatican Museums (see entry B17). In a drawing attributed to Simone Pollaiolo preserved in the Uffizi, depicting the Baldachin of the Cantharus of Saint Peter, one of the columns is identical to those in the Louvre for the presence of the bust that rests on the globe (see C4c).

PROVENANCE: Rome; Collection of Cardinal Marco Sittico von Hohenems (died 1595); then in the collection of Giovanni Angelo Altemps, Duke of Gallese (died 1620); in the Altemps Collection until the mid 18th century (mentioned by Bianchini in 1710 and Ficoroni in 1744); Frederick Augustus Hervey Collection (1730-1803), Bishop of Derry; then 4th Earl of Bristol from 1779; Fea reports that they were of interest to Cardinal Fesch in 1803. Negotiated for in Rome by Pierre-Adrien Paris, together with Annibale Malatesta and Michele Belli, and acquired in June 1808 by the Napoléon Museum (for 1800 piastre); where they were sent with the convoy of the Borghese Collection.

LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 51-54, nos. 7-8; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 52-54, pls. 9-10.

C5. Eight Columns

Height *c.* 660 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte.

PROVENANCE: Roman building.

LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 55, fig. 90; BRANDENBURG 2004, pp. 37-54.

C6.

C9.

C6. Two Columns

Height *c.* 220 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Roman Forum, Temple of the Divus Romulus, portal.

PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations of the Forum.

LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 58, fig. 95.

C7. Fragmentary Column

Height *c.* 270 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Roman Forum, on the ground near the Arch of Titus.

C7.

C8.

Note the two hollowed areas on the surface of the column to restore two fractures, which would have been re-covered with polished Porphyry plates, today lost.

PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations of the Forum.

LITERATURE: unpublished.

C8. Two Columns

Height *c.* 300 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Forum, Curia, right side.

PROVENANCE: Roman Forum.

LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 44, fig. 68.

C9. Fragments of (Fourteen?) Large Columns

Height originally *c.* 600 cm.
4th century.
Rome, Roman Forum, Temple of Venus and Roma, cella of the goddess Roma.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Temple of Venus and Roma.

LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 77, no. B10.

C10.

C11.

C12.

C13a.

C13b.

C10. Two Columns

Height *c.* 220 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte, chapel on the left.

PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 54, figs. 87, 89; BRANDENBURG 2004, pp. 37–54.

C11. Two Columns

Height *c.* 210 cm.
Late 3rd century.
Rome, Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte, chapel on the right.

PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: BRANDENBURG 2004, pp. 37–54.

C12. Two Columns

Height *c.* 750 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte, atrium.

PROVENANCE: from Plauzio Laterano's Palazzo.
LITERATURE: BRANDENBURG 2004, pp. 37–54.

C13. Four Columns

Height *c.* 240 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, Corsini Chapel.

PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C14.

C15.

C16.

C17b.

C17c.

C17a.

C14. One of Two Columns

Height *c.* 240 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 153, fig. 228.

C15. Four Columns

Height *c.* 240 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura, high altar.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 143, fig. 265.

C16. Two Columns

Height *c.* 235 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of Saint Praxedes, high altar.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C17. Ten Columns

Height *c.* 220 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Chapel of the Crucifix.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C18. Four Columns

Height *c.* 410 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, high altar.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C19. Four Columns

Height *c.* 320 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Church of San Carlo ai Catinari, high altar.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C20. Two of Four Columns

Height *c.* 240 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Pantheon, third altar on the right.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C21. Two of Four Columns

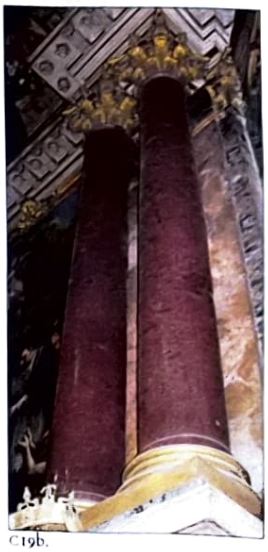
Height *c.* 280 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of San Marco, high altar.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C22. One of Two Columns

Height *c.* 380 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Church of Gesù, Chapel of the Passion.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

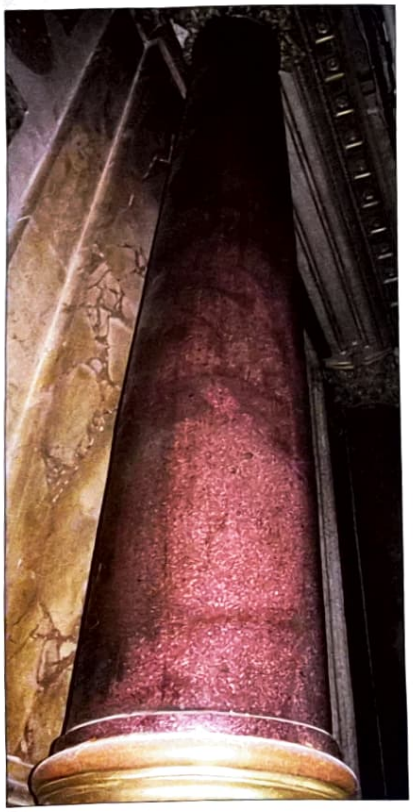
C18.

C19a.



C19b.

C20.



C22.

C21.

C23a.

C23b.

C23. Two Columns

Height *c.* 420 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria in Domnica, high altar, triumphal arch.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C24. Two Columns

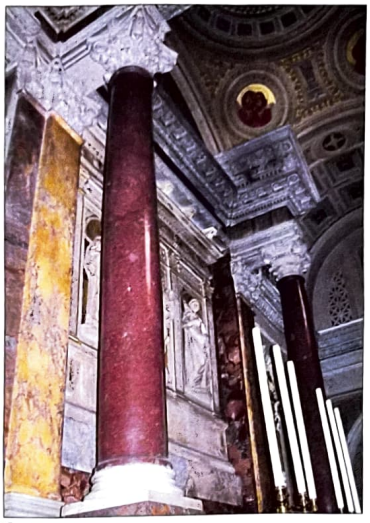
Height *c.* 240 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of San Paolo Fuori le Mura, Chapel of Saint Lawrence.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C25. Two Columns

Height *c.* 480 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of San Paolo Fuori le Mura, Chapel of Saint Stephen.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C26. Four Columns

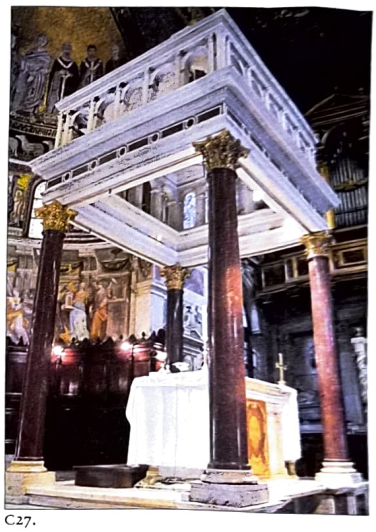
Height *c.* 220 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of San Paolo Fuori le Mura, altar of the Confession.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 197, fig. 369.



C24.

C25.

C26.



C27.

C28.

C29.

C30.

C31.

C32.

C27. Four Columns

c. 300 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere, high altar.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C28. Two Columns

c. 580 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of San Crisogono, under the arch of the high altar.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C29. Two Columns

Height *c.* 240 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Papal Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican, altar of Saints Processus and Martinian.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: PIETRANGELI 1989a, p. 194.

C30. Two Columns

Height *c.* 240 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Papal Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican, altar in south transept.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

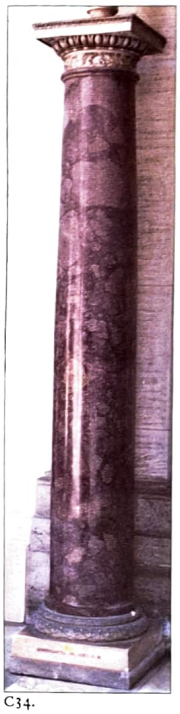
C31. Four Columns

Height *c.* 220 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of San Pancrazio, high altar.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C32. Columns

Height *c.* 160 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Catacomb of Saint Prætextatus.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 50, fig. 81.

C33.


C34.

C36.

C35.

C33. Column

Height *c.* 54 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C34. One of Two *Pulmonate* Porphyry Columns

Inv. no. 990: height *c.* 240 cm; inv. no. 39147: height 355 cm (shaft only).
Roman Empire, repolished in the 18th century with evident marks that are darker or rose-coloured, known as "pulmonatory" marks.
Rome, Vatican, Octagonal courtyard, inv nos. 990 (ex PE41) and 39147 (ex PS40).
PROVENANCE: Rome. The column inventoried PE41 was situated on the Tevere at the site of the Ponte Rotto and was used to tie the chains of the floating mill of San Salvatore to it; acquired by the Museum between 1777 and 1778. The other column was discovered in the Belvedere courtyard near the Library entrance in 1928, to where it may have been brought during the important building works at the end of the 16th century and was then never reused.
LITERATURE: SPINOLA 1996, p. 48, no. PE41 (inv. no. 990); p. 68, no. PS40 (inv. no. 39147).

C35. Fragments of Columns

Height *c.* 150 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Forum.
PROVENANCE: southern entrance to the Via Sacra.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C36. Column

Height *c.* 90 cm (out of ground).
Roman Empire, 3rd-4th century.

C37a.

C37b.

Siracusa, Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Bellomo.
PROVENANCE: Rome excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C37. Two Wayside Posts

Height *c.* 165 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Church of San Luigi dei Francesi, entrance.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman column.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C38. One of Two Columns

Inv. no. 222: height *c.* 232 cm; inv. no. 223: *c.* 234 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Florence, Pitti Palace, Sala della Tazza, inv nos. 222–223.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Villa Medici (1789).
LITERATURE: *Palazzo Pitti*... 2003, pp. 612–613, nos. 155a-b with figure.

C39. Fragments of Porphyry Columns

Various.
Roman Empire.
Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

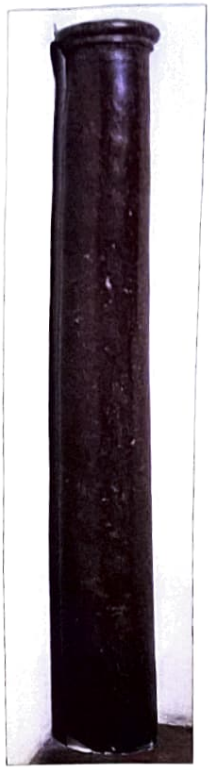
C40. Two Columns

Height *c.* 150 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Urbino, Oratory of San Giuseppe, apse.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C41. Column

Height *c.* 230 cm.
2nd–5th century.
Florence, Bargello National Museum, inv. no. 220.

C38.



C41.

C42.

PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: *Augusta Fragmenta*... 2008, p. 25, fig. 10.

C42. Two Columns

Height *c.* 300 cm.
Roman Empire.
Florence, Baptistery.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C39.

C40.

C43.

C43. Two Columns

c. 240 cm.
Roman Empire.
Monreale (Palermo), Cathedral, Treasury.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C44.

C44. Two of Four Small Columns

Height *c.* 180 cm.
Roman Empire.
Palermo, Palatine Chapel.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C45. Two Small Columns

c. 160 cm.
Roman Empire.
Palermo, Church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C46. Six Columns and Four Capitals

c. 220 cm.
Imperial columns, 12th–13th century capitals.
Palermo, Cathedral, Baldachin of the tomb of Frederick II.
PROVENANCE: columns are Roman excavation material; capitals are of Roman-Norman workmanship, possibly from Cefalù.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 127, fig. 240; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 31, 136–137, fig. 54, pl. 112.

C47. Six Columns and Six Capitals

Height *c.* 220 cm.
Imperial columns, 12th–13th century capitals.
Palermo, Cathedral, Baldachin of the tomb of Henry VI.
PROVENANCE: columns from Roman excavations; capitals are of Roman-Norman workmanship, possibly from Cefalù.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2003, p. 48.

C45a.

C45b.

C47b.

C46a.

C46b.

C47a.

C48.

C48. One of Two Columns

Height *c.* 230 cm.
Roman Empire.
Pisa, Cathedral.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C49.

C49. Four Columns

Height *c.* 300 cm.
2nd–3rd century, the ciborium was constructed in the 9th century.
Milan, Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, ciborium.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: BUGINI, FOLLI 2005, p. 162.

C50.

C51.

C50. Three of Four Columns

Height *c.* 220 cm.
Roman Empire, reused from Roman architecture.
Ravenna, Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C51. Column

Height *c.* 300 cm.
Roman Empire.
Subiaco, Monastery of Saint Scholastica.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C52. Column Fragment

Height *c.* 70 cm.
Roman Empire.
Venice, Ca' d'Oro, Giorgio Franchetti Collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C52.

C53.

C54a.

C54b.

C54c.

C55.

C53. Fragment of a Column

Height *c.* 90 cm.
Roman Empire.
Venice, Piazza San Marco.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C54. Facade Columns

Height from *c.* 120 to 220 cm.
Roman Empire.
Venice, Basilica of San Marco, facade.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C55. Small Column

Height *c.* 110 cm.
Roman Empire.
Verona, Cathedral.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C56.

C56. Two Small Columns

Height *c.* 60 cm.
Roman Empire, reworked in the 12th century.
Palermo, Church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C57.

C57. Column

Height *c.* 120 cm.
Roman Empire.
Palermo, Palazzo Pretorio, interior, statue of the Genius of Palermo.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C58. Column

Height *c.* 130 cm.
Roman Empire.
Pisa, Camposanto Monumentale.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: SETTIS 1984, no. 59.

C59. Two Ionic Columns

Height *c.* 267 cm; diam. *c.* 31 cm.
Roman Empire.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. MR 1092 and 1093.
Initially, they had sea-green, marble socles.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Villa Borghese; acquired with the collection on 27 September 1807, one arrived in Paris on 18 June 1810 and the other on 4 July 1810. Perhaps, they were originally located in the Basilica of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 58-60, no. 11; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 135-136, pl. 69.

C60. Two Columns

Height *c.* 228 cm; diam. *c.* 26 cm.
Roman Empire.
Paris, Louvre, inv. nos. MR 1078-1079.
Brecciated Porphyry.
PROVENANCE: Paris, Basilica of Saint-Denis.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 87-88, no. 18.

C58.

C60.

C61.

C61. Column

Height *c.* 198 cm; diam. *c.* 22 cm.
Roman Empire - Paris, *c.* 1770-1780; mounted by Pierre Gouthière.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. MR 1077.
Porphyry, gilt bronze.
PROVENANCE: Collection of the Duc d'Aumont; his inventory upon his death in 1782 no. 594 (valued at 1500 Italian lire); acquired at the sale of his collection by Julliot for Louis XVI; Louvre.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 174-174, no. 66.

C62. Column

Height *c.* 130 cm.
Roman Empire.
Tarragona, Monastery of Sante Creus.
PROVENANCE: archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C63. Two Columns

Height *c.* 240 cm.
Roman Empire.
Aachen, Palatine Chapel.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

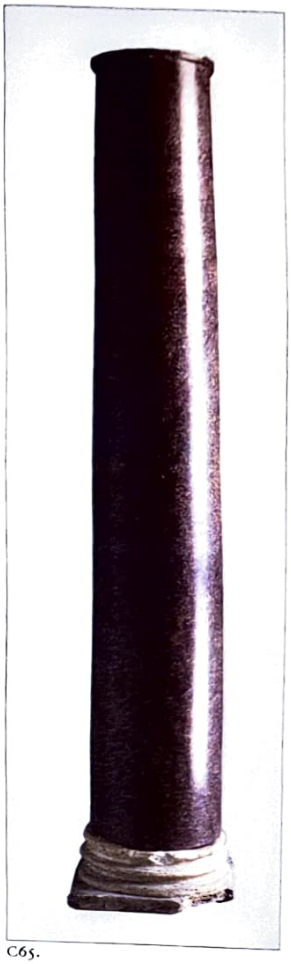
C59.

C62.

C63.

C64.

C67b.



C65.

C66.

C67a.

C68a.

C68b.

C68c.

C68d.

C64. Two Columns

c. 330 cm.
Roman Empire.
Istanbul, Mosque of Bayezid.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C65. Column

Height *c.* 210 cm.
Roman Empire.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 10 May 2006.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C66. Two of Four Columns

Height *c.* 190 cm.
Roman Empire.
UK, Hever Castle, Astor Collection.
PROVENANCE: from a Roman building.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

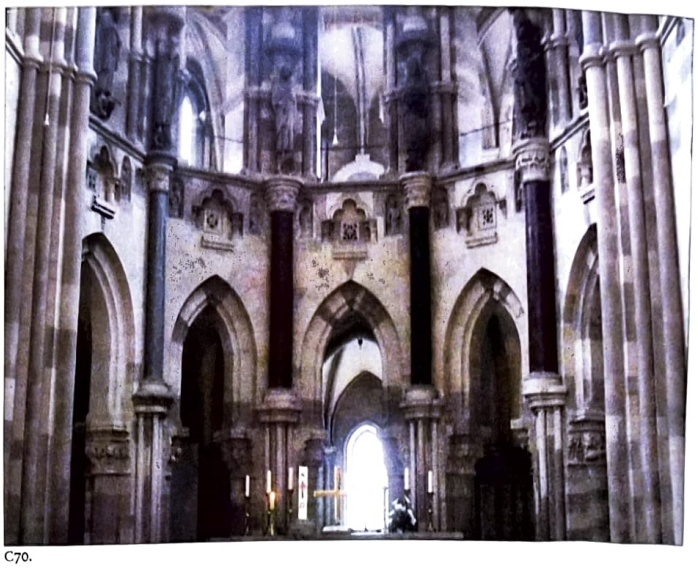
C67. Eight Large Columns, Partial Views

Height *c.* 660 cm.
Roman Empire.
Istanbul, Hagia Sophia.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, p. 68, fig. 27.

C68. Three Columns, Four Rotae and Slabs, Partial Views

Various.
Roman Empire.
Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C69.



C70.

C71.

C72.

C73a.

C73b.

C73c.

C69. Column

Height *c.* 120 cm.
Roman Empire.
Le Puy-en-Velay, Cathedral, east door.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C70. Two Columns

Height *c.* 220 cm.
Roman Empire.
Magdeburg, Cathedral.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C71. Column

Height *c.* 220 cm.
Roman Empire.
Potsdam, gardens.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 83, no. B21.

C72. Column

Height *c.* 200 cm.
Roman Empire.
Spain, private collection.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C73. Two Columns

Height *c.* 220 cm.
4th century.
Split, Imperial Palace, Mausoleum of Diocletian, upper drum.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C74.

C77.

C75.

C78.

C76.

C79.

C74. Column and Base

Height *c.* 85 cm.
Roman Empire.
Toulouse, Cathedral, on a window.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C75. Seven Pulpit Columns

Height *c.* 150 cm.
Giovanni Pisano, reused from Roman architecture.
Pistoia, Church of Sant'Andrea.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C76. Pulpit Column

Height *c.* 140 cm.
Giovanni Pisano, reused from Roman architecture.
Pisa, Cathedral.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C77. Five Pulpit Columns

Height *c.* 150 cm.
Nicola Pisano, reused from Roman architecture.
Pistoia, Church of Sant'Andrea.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

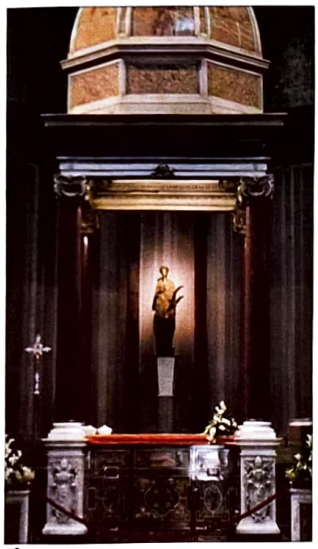
C78. Two Pulpit Columns

Height *c.* 130 cm.
Fra Guglielmo, reused from Roman architecture.
Pistoia, Church of San Giovanni Fuoricivitas.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

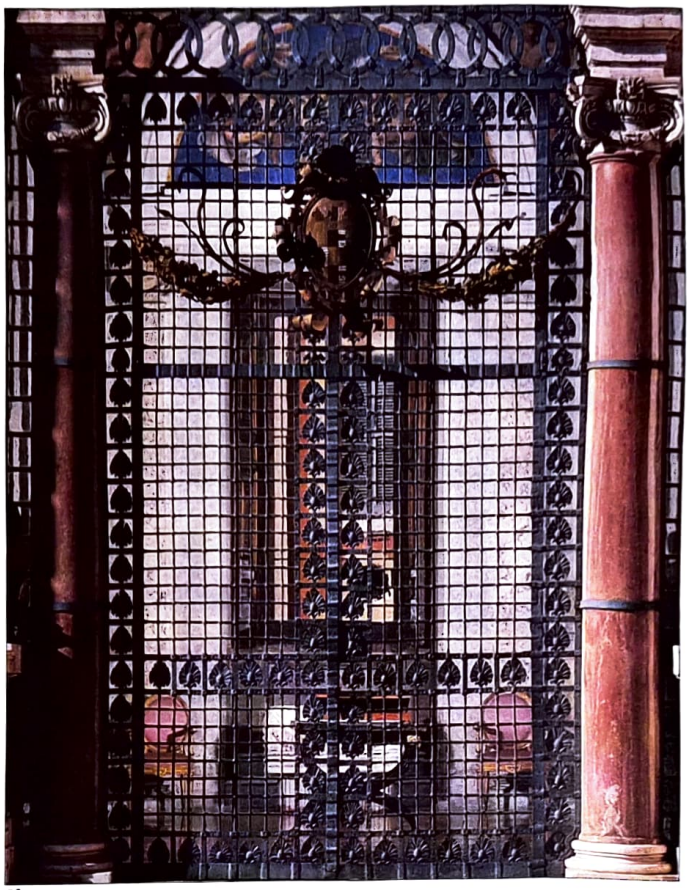
C79. Two Columns

Height *c.* 170 cm.
17th century.
Rome, Borghese Gallery.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations, reworked.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2003, p. 130.

C80.



C83.



C81.

C84a.

C80. Two Columns

Height *c.* 220 cm.
18th century.
Rome, Palazzo Altieri.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations, reworked.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2003, p. 134; CRESTI 1998, p. 234.

C81. Two of Four Columns

Height *c.* 300 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi, Casino dell'Aurora.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: DI CASTRO 1999, p. 49.

C82. Drum of Column

Height *c.* 120 cm.
Roman Empire.
UK, Hever Castle, Astor Collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C83. Four Columns

Height *c.* 210 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Rome, Basilica of Sant'Agnese Fuori le Mura, tabernacle of the high altar, where a statue of the saint is preserved.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C84. Two Columns

Height *c.* 230 cm.
Roman Empire.
Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, north-east door.
PROVENANCE: Rome, the left column has a Roman restoration in iron and two Ottoman ring restorations in bronze (see C84b).
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C85. Column

Height *c.* 220 cm.
Roman Empire.
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C86. One of Four Columns

Height *c.* 290 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Vatican, Gallery of the Tapestries.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C87. Four Columns

Height *c.* 302 cm; diam. *c.* 39 cm.
9th century.
Milan, Sforza Castle, Civic Art Collections.
PROVENANCE: ex-Church of San Carpoforo, dismantled ciborium.
LITERATURE: BUGINI, FOLLI 2005, p. 162.

C88. Two Columns

Height *c.* 200 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Church of Santa Cecilia, crypt.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: SCHNEIDER 1887.

C89. Eight Columns

Height *c.* 250-320 cm.
4th century.
Trier, Liebfrauenkirche and Cathedral.
PROVENANCE: Trier, Imperial Palace.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988 p. 81, no. B19.

C82.

C84b.

C85.

C86.

Capitals, Plinths, Bases and *Rotae*

C90. Corinthian Capital with Elephants

Height *c.* 40 cm.
2nd century.
Rome, Vatican, Belvedere, Octagonal Courtyard, inv. no. 1096.
PROVENANCE: Rome, entered the museum's collection in 1807 from Carlo Albacini.
LITERATURE: SPINOLA 1996, p. 107, no. PN53; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 136, fig. 53.

C91. Capital and Pilaster

Height *c.* 60 cm.
2nd–4th century.
Rome, Basilica of Sant'Agnese Fuori le Mura, apse, left pilaster.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 71, fig. 116; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 146–147, fig. 61.

C92. Pilaster Capital

47 x 55 cm.
5th century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: Gnoli Collection.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 28, fig. 37.

C93. Fragment of a Lesene

c. 19 x 16 cm.
5th century.
Rome, Foro Argentina, Storerooms.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Forum, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C94. Plinth Base

Side 45 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte, chapel on the left.
Clean cut square plinth base, typical of the Dioletian period style and used until Late Antiquity.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 54, fig. 89; BRANDENBURG 2004, pp. 37–54.

C95. Support of the Statue of Saint John

Height *c.* 110 cm.
13th century.
Monreale (Palermo).
PROVENANCE: from the drum of a Roman column.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C96. Altar

Height *c.* 128 cm; width *c.* 66 cm.
3rd–4th century.
Istanbul, pronaos of Hagia Sophia.
Square-shaped altar; all four faces are decorated with garlands.
PROVENANCE: unknown, formerly in Hagia Eirene.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 138, pl. 71; SCHNEIDER 1887, p. 141, no. LI.

C90.

C91.

C94.

C95.

C92.

C93.

C96.

C98.

C97.

C99.

C97. Octagonal Base of a Large *Labrvm*

Height *c.* 75 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of Santi Nereo e Achilleo.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Baths of Caracalla.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 49, fig. 79; AMBROGI 2005, pp. 351–352, no. S.13.

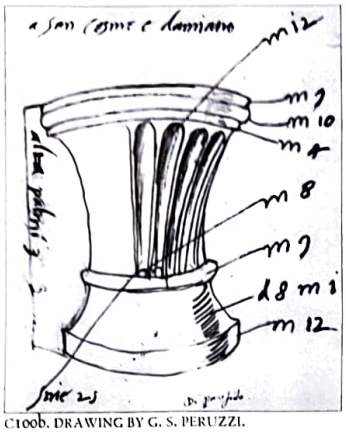
C98. *Labrvm* Base

Height *c.* 60 cm; plinth height *c.* 20 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Rome, Church of Sant'Alessio.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 47, fig. 74.

C99. Holy Water Stoup

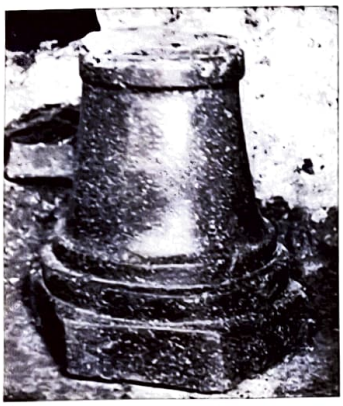
Height *c.* 55 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte.
Labrvm support.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 349–350, no. S.10.

C100a.

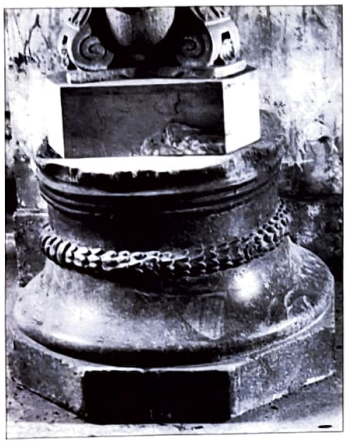


C100b. DRAWING BY G. S. PERUZZI. FLORENCE, UFFIZI.

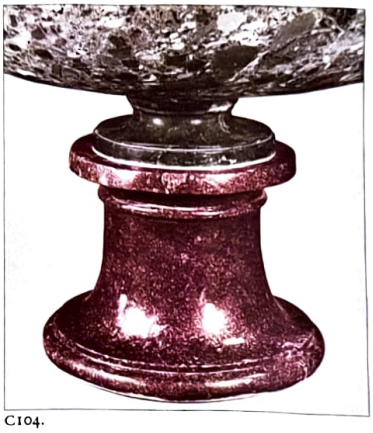
C101.



C102.



C103.



C104.

C105.

C100. *Labrum* Base

Height *c.* 63 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of Santi Cosma e Damiano, inside the altar of the Crucifix. Carved, hollowed and reused as a chalix upside down (see C100b).
PROVENANCE: Lower Basilica.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 47, figs. 72-73; AMBROGI 2005, p. 350, no. S.12; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 185, fig. 91.

C101. *Labrum* Base

Height *c.* 60 cm.
2nd century.
Rome, Circus Maximus Mithraeum, inv. no. MM 189.
PROVENANCE: archaeological excavations of the Mithraeum.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 587, no. S.14.

C102. *Labrum* Base

Height *c.* 60 cm.
3rd century.
Rome, Catacomb of San Panfilo.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 349-350, no. S.11; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 185, fig. 92.

C103. *Labrum* Base

Height 57 cm; diam. *c.* 250 cm.
3rd century.
Rome, Church of San Cesareo de Appia (in Palatio).
PROVENANCE: Roma, Baths of Caracalla (?).
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C104. *Labrum* Support

Height *c.* 82 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi.
Cylindrical base for a *labrum*.
PROVENANCE: Coldiretti Collection.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 272-273, no. L. 81; DI CASTRO 1999, p. 268.

C105. Holy Water Stoup Support on the Left

Height *c.* 60 cm.
Roman Empire.
Palermo, Palatine Chapel.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: TRONZO 1997.

C106.

C106. Holy Water Stoup Support on the Right

Height *c.* 60 cm.
Roman Empire.
Palermo, Palatine Chapel.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: TRONZO 1997, fig. 102.

C107. *Labrum* Support

Height *c.* 62 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Palermo, Regional Archaeological Museum "Antonino Salinas".
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 348, no. S6; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 182, fig. 87.

C108. *Labrum* Support

Height *c.* 62 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Montecassino (Frosinone), Abbey Museum.
PROVENANCE: Temple of Apollo, *Casinum*.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 346–347, no. S3.

C109. *Labrum* Base

Height *c.* 45 cm.
Roman Empire.
Stockholm, National Museum, inv. no. KM 75.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C107.

C108.

C109.

C110.

C110. *Labrum* Base

Height *c.* 60 cm.
2nd century.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1920.
PROVENANCE: Roma, excavations on Palatine; bought in 1902.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 345, no. S1; POULSEN 1951, no. 129.

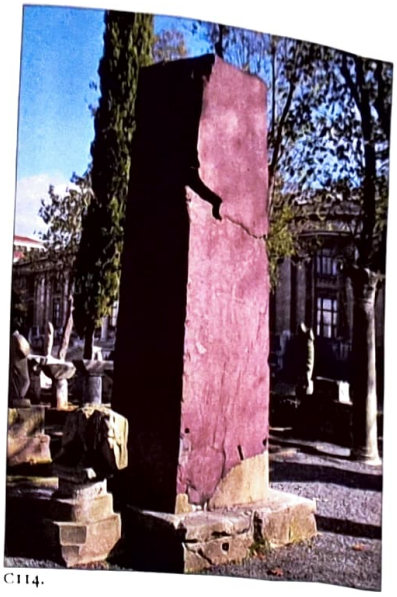
C111. Support and Plinth

Height *c.* 65 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Rome, Villa Torlonia Museum.
Bronze Triton holds a Porphyry bowl, placed above a round table that is supported by a small column on a plinth, both in Porphyry.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: VISCONTI 1884, I, p. 135, no. 193, II, pl. 49.

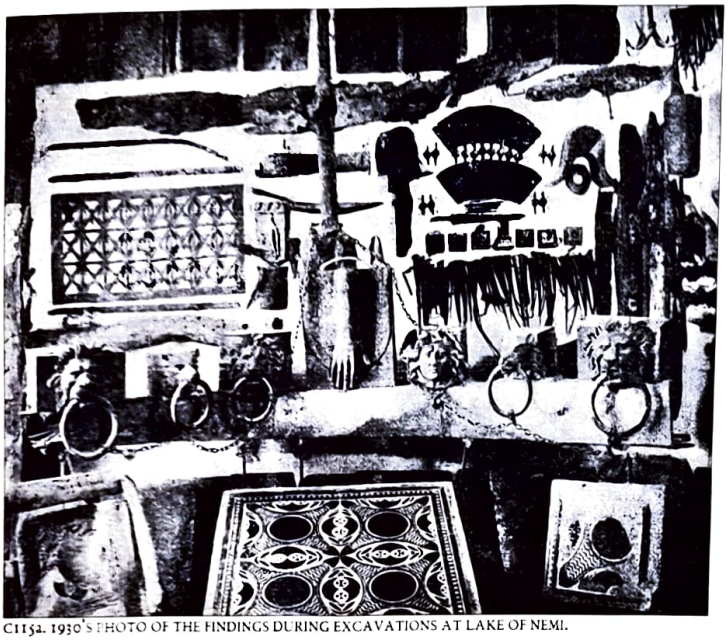
C111.

C112.

C113.



C114.



C115a. 1930's PHOTO OF THE FINDINGS DURING EXCAVATIONS AT LAKE OF NEMI.

C115b.

C116.

C112. Base of a Crucifix or a Paschal Candle

Height *c.* 35 cm.
12th century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: Montecassino, Abbey; antique market, E. Costantini.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 79, fig. 138; GIULIANO 2003, p. 11.

C113. Support

Height *c.* 65 cm.
2nd century.
UK, Hever Castle.
PROVENANCE: Astor Collection.
LITERATURE: ASTOR 1969, no. 92.

C114. Fragment of Obelisk

Height *c.* 380 cm.
Constantinian period.
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople, Hippodrome.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 145-146, fig. 60.

C115. Porphyry, Serpentine and *Pâte de Verre* Mosaic-*Opus Sectile* Set on a Fictile "Bipedal"

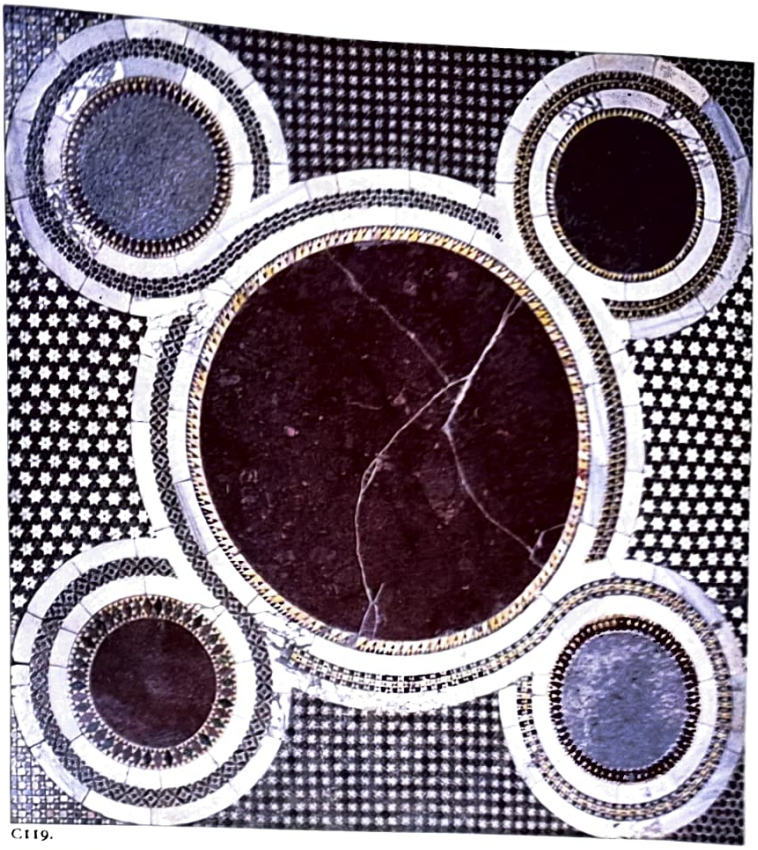
c. 60 x 60 cm.
1st century.
Unknown; S. Sangiorgi, Montecarlo (?).
PROVENANCE: from Caligula's ships, discovered at the bottom of Lake Nemi during an excavation campaign in the 1930s, when the lake dried out; then on the antiquities market in the 1950s; Giorgio Sangiorgi Gallery, Rome.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 13, fig. 1; GNOLI 1972, fig. 144; UCELLI 1950, pp. 17, 225-231, figs. 10, 251, pl. A.

C116. Porphyry, Serpentine and *Pâte de Verre* Mosaic-*Opus Sectile* Set on a Fictile "Bipedal"

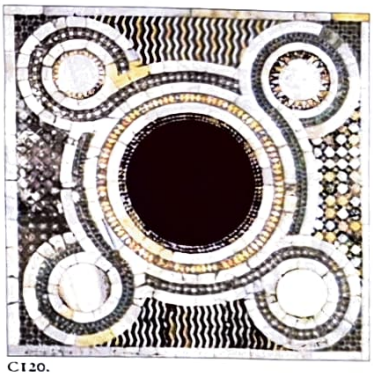
c. 50 x 40 cm.
1st century.
Nemi, Naval Museum.
PROVENANCE: from Caligula's ships, discovered at the bottom of Lake Nemi in an excavation campaign in the 1930s, when the lake dried out.
LITERATURE: UCELLI 1950, pp. 17, 225-231, figs. 10, 251, pl. A.

C117.

C118.



C119.



C120.

C121.

C117. Porphyry, Serpentine and *Pâte de Verre* Mosaic-*Opus Sectile* Set on a Fictile "Bipedal"

c. 50 x 40 cm.
1st century.
Nemi, Naval Museum.
PROVENANCE: from Caligula's ships, discovered at the bottom of Lake Nemi in an excavation campaign in the 1930s, when the lake dried out.
LITERATURE: UCELLI 1950, pp. 17, 225-231, figs. 10, 251, pl. A.

C118. *Opus Sectile* with Snake

c. 130 x 50 cm.
Roman Empire.
Ephesus, new excavations.
PROVENANCE: Ephesus, new excavations, room 31.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C119. *Rota*

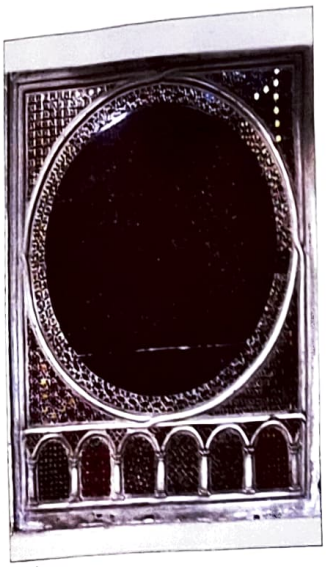
Diameter *c.* 270 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria in Cosmedin.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 117, fig. 213; DEL BUFALO 2003, p. 107.

C120. *Rota*

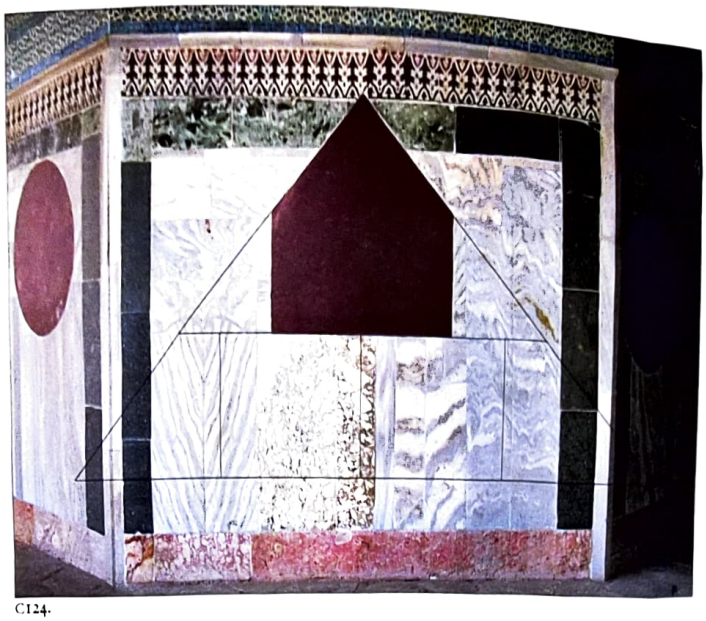
Diameter *c.* 130 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of the Santi Quattro Coronati, central nave.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010.

C121. *Rota*

Diameter *c.* 90 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Basilica of the Santi Quattro Coronati, floor pavement at the foot of the throne.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 116, fig. 212.



C122.



C124.

C123.

C126.

C122. *Rota*

Diameter *c.* 85 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Ara Coeli.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C123. *Rotae*

Diameter *c.* 80 cm.
4th century.
Istanbul, Hagia Sophia.
PROVENANCE: sawing from Roman columns.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 64, fig. 102.

C124. Facing Slab

c. 80 x 110 cm.
Constantinian period.
Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum.
Possibly from interior facings in the Porphyrogenesis Room.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

C125. Background Frame of a Clipeus

Various.
Constantinian period.
Rome, Arch of Constantine.
PROVENANCE: Rome, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 43, fig. 64.

C126. Background with *Rotae*

Diameter *c.* 60 cm.
6th century.
Croatia, Poreč, Euphrasian Basilica.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 64, fig. 103.

C127. *Rota*

Diameter *c.* 65 cm.
6th century.
Ravenna, Baptistery of Neon.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 64, fig. 101.

C128. *Rota* and Fragment of a Cornice on the Font

Diameter *c.* 65 cm; *c.* 120 x 90 cm.
Roman Empire.
Ravenna, Neonian Baptistery.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 65, fig. 105.

C129. *Rota* on Backgrounds

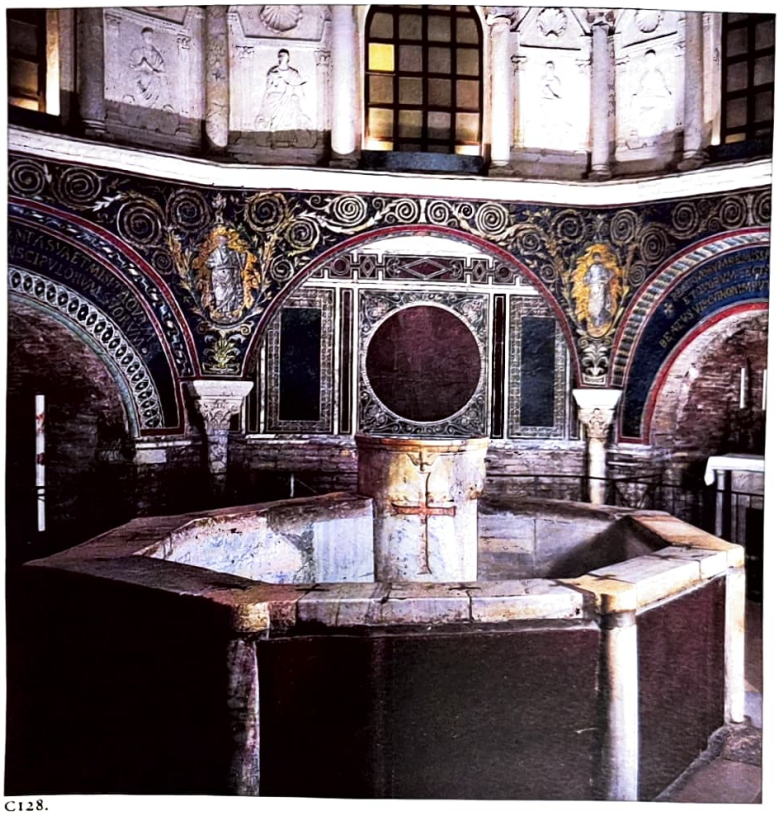
Diameter *c.* 60 cm.
6th century.
Ravenna, Basilica of San Vitale.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 60, fig. 98.

C130. Pulpit Transennae

c. 80 x 140 cm.
4th–5th century.
Venice, San Marco, pulpit.
PROVENANCE: Byzantium, 1203.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 147–148, figs. 62–63.

C125.

C127.



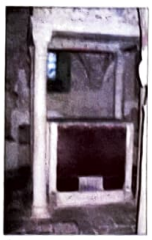
C128.

C129.

C130.

C131. Transenna

c. 120 x 90 cm.
Roman Empire.
Velletri, Cathedral of San Clemente, crypt, altar.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.


C131.

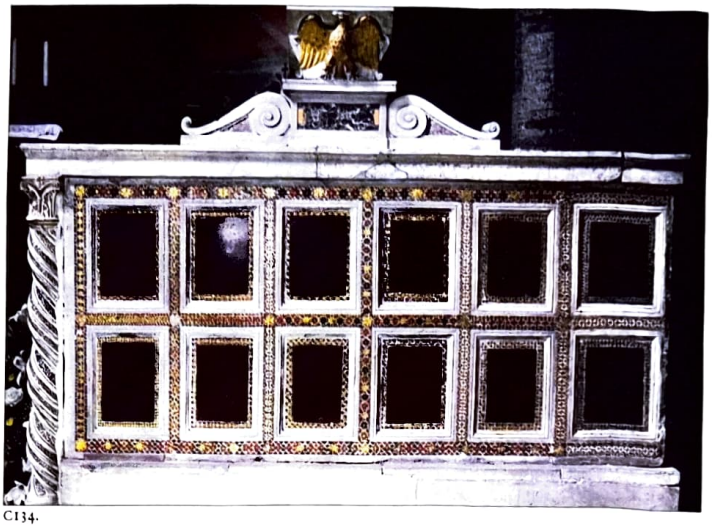
C132.

C132. *Rotae*

Diameter *c.* 150 cm.
13th century.
Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, Abbey of Fleury.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 194, fig. 366.

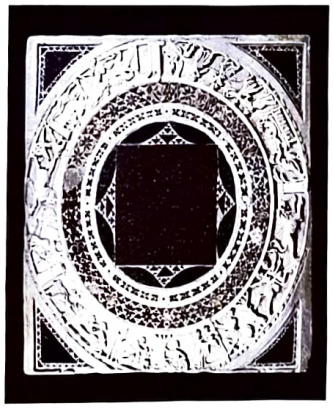
C133. Achilles Disc

c. 80 x 80 cm.
Bas-relief on the 4th-century mensa; Cosmatesque reuse in the 13th century.
Rome, Capitoline Museums, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. no. S64.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Ara Coeli, gift from Benedict XIV to the city of Rome in 1750.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 22, fig. 19; *Aurea Roma*... 2000, pp. 698-610, no. 310.


C134.

C134. Frontal

Background areas *c.* 20 x 30 cm.
13th century.
Rome, Basilica of Santi Nereo e Achilleo.
PROVENANCE: Rome, reused from antiquity.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 160, fig. 303.


C133.

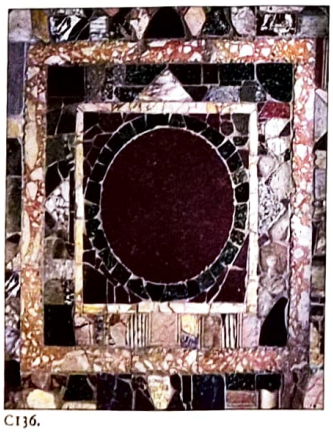
C135. *Rotae* and Ovals from a Floor Pavement

Various.
15th-century floor pavement.
Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Chapel of the Magi.
PROVENANCE: sawing from Roman fragments.
LITERATURE: BUTTERS 1996, II, fig. 34.

C135.

C136. *Rota*

250 x 250 cm.
20th century.
Rome, Castello della Cecchignola.
PROVENANCE: fragment of an ancient floor pavement.
LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 225, fig. 445.


C136.

Mortars

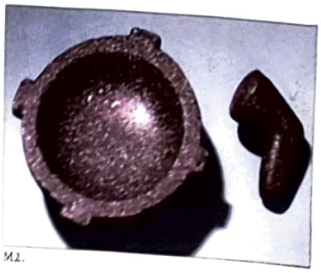
M1. Mortar for Grinding Colour, Semi-Finished Version

Length *c.* 23 cm.
1st century BC – 2nd century AD.
Cairo, Museum, inv. no. 18758.
This is a semi-finished version of a flat mortar for grinding colour; note the eight tubular bores.
PROVENANCE: from the Nile Delta.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 195, fig. 97.

M1.

M2. Mortar

Width *c.* 10 cm.
1st-3rd century.
London, British Museum, 29301. Reg. no. 1897,0511.17.a.
PROVENANCE: acquired in 1897 from R. J. Moss & Co.
LITERATURE: unpublished.


M2.

M3. Mortar

Height *c.* 30 cm.
2nd century or later.
UK, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, London, 31 October 2003, Sadler Collection, lot 78.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M3.

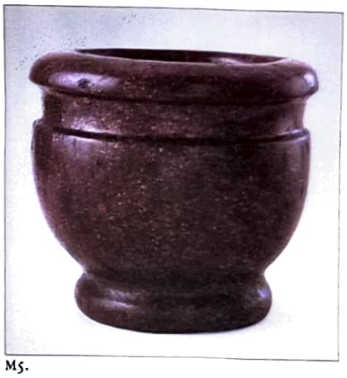
M4. Mortar

Height *c.* 18 cm; diam. *c.* 44 cm.
2nd-4th century BC.
UK.
PROVENANCE: Maddox-Brown Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M4.

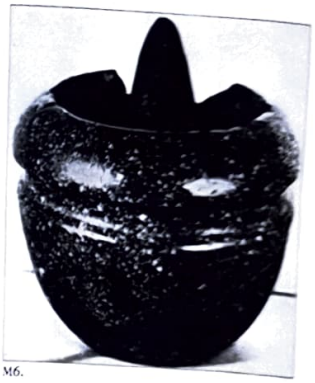
M5. Mortar

Height *c.* 24 cm; diam. *c.* 29 cm.
2nd-4th century.
Geneva, George Ortiz Collection, inv. no. 241.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: *In Pursuit of the Absolute...* 1994, no. 241.


M5.

M6. Mortar

Height *c.* 17 cm.
4th century.
Bonn, private collection.
PROVENANCE: acquired in Civita Castellana.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 196, fig. 99.


M6.

M7. Mortar

Diameter *c.* 29 cm.
Roman Empire or Late Antiquity.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 312b.
PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, Florence, 12 October 2009.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M7.

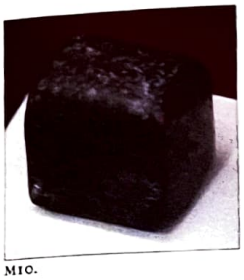
M8. Mortar

Height *c.* 36 cm.
Roman Empire or Late Antiquity.
Rome, Antica Farmacia Pesci, used in the past as a mortar or pharmaceutical jar.
PROVENANCE: Rome, antiquities market, part of the pharmacy's historical fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M8.

M9a.

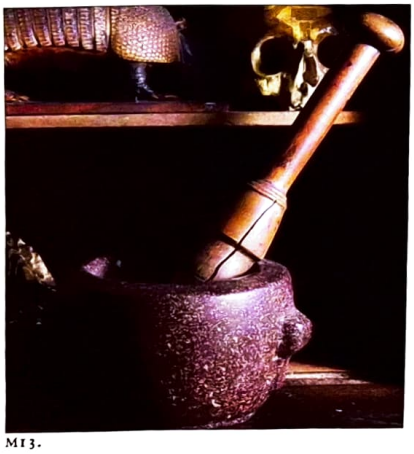
M9b. Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet (see entry V9).



M10.

M11.

M12.



M13.

M14.

M15.

M9. Mortar

Height *c.* 50 cm.
The body was a Roman imperial urn; the cover may be later.
Rome, Antica Farmacia Pesci, used in the past as a mortar or pharmaceutical jar. This mortar is very close to the vase with cover in Musée Granet (V9) and to others sculpted with female breast decorations.
PROVENANCE: Rome, antiquities market, part of the pharmacy's historical fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M10. Pestle for Grinding Colours

Height *c.* 7 cm.
9th century.
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum.
PROVENANCE: Samarra, Al Hakani Palace.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M11. Mortar

Height *c.* 17 cm.
15th century.
Naples, National Museum of Capodimonte.
PROVENANCE: De Ciccio Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M12. Mortar

Height *c.* 16 cm.
15th century.
Dresden, Albertino.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 196, fig. 100.

M13. Mortar

Height *c.* 13 cm.
15th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: formerly Alessandro Orsi Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M14. Mortar

Height *c.* 25 cm; width *c.* 43 x 43 cm.
15th century.
Rome, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Roman antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

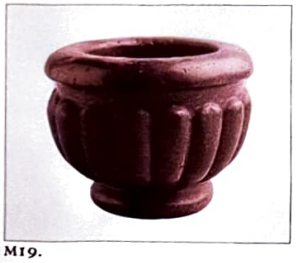
M15. Mortar

Height *c.* 31 cm.
16th century.
London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M16.

M17.

M18.



M19.

M20.

M21.

M22.

M23.

M24.

M16. Mortar Bearing Medici Coat-of-Arms

Height *c.* 14 cm; width *c.* 28 cm.
Florence, last third of the 16th century.
Écouen, National Museum of the Renaissance, inv. no. Ecl 231.
PROVENANCE: gift from Mme Nicolas Landau, 1992.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre...* 2003, pp. 99-100, no. 22; CRÉPIN-LEBLOND 1992, p. 68, fig. 10.

M17. Mortar

Height *c.* 24 cm.
16th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 315.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 10 December 2009.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M18. Mortar

Height 24 cm.
16th century or older.
Rome, Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Palazzo Commenda, 1st floor, Lancisiana Library.
PROVENANCE: old fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M19. Mortar

Height *c.* 19 cm.
17th century.
Naples, National Museum of Capodimonte.
PROVENANCE: De Ciccio Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M20. Mortar

Height *c.* 18 cm; diam. *c.* 24 cm.
17th century.
Paris, Louvre, inv. no. OA9244.
PROVENANCE: old fonds.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M21. Two Mortars and a Pestel

Diameter *c.* 22 cm and *c.* 12 cm; pestle *c.* 25 cm.
17th-18th century.
London, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 12 November 2003.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M22. Mortar

Height *c.* 15 cm.
18th century.
Naples, National Museum of Capodimonte.
PROVENANCE: De Ciccio Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M23. Mortar

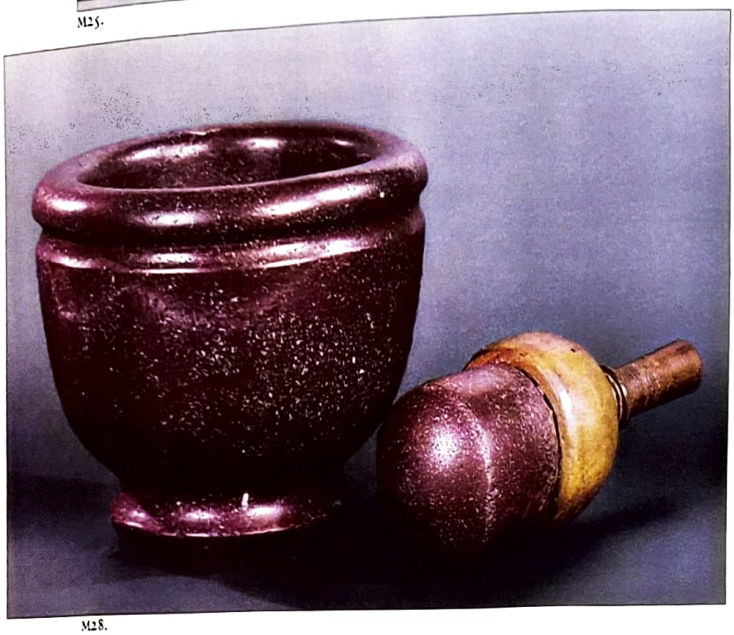
Diameter *c.* 13 cm.
18th century.
Rome, private collection.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M24. Mortar

Height *c.* 16 cm.
18th century.
Pistoia.
PROVENANCE: Tuscan workshop.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M25.

M26.



M28.

M27.

M29.

M30.

M25. Mortar

Height *c.* 16 cm.
18th century.
Rome, private collection.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M26. Mortar

c. 32 x 46 x 34 cm.
1713.
Paris, antique market.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M27. Mortar

Height *c.* 18 cm; diam. *c.* 15 cm.
18th century.
Florence, Galileo Museum, inv. no. 2060.
PROVENANCE: Lorraine collections.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M28. Mortar with Porphyry Pestle

Height *c.* 20 cm.
18th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Semenzato auction house, Venice, 28 November 2002.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M29. Mortar

Height *c.* 26 cm.
18th century.
London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.
PROVENANCE: antique market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M30. Mortar

Height *c.* 20 cm.
18th century.
Private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 8 December 2011.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M31. Mortar

Height *c.* 29 cm; diam. *c.* 30 cm.
18th century.
USA, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Christie's, New York, 20 October 2006, lot 1715.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M32. Mortar

Height *c.* 15 cm.
16th–18th century (?).
Unknown.
PROVENANCE: Wannenes auction house, Genoa, 27–28 May 2009, no. 786.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M33. Mortar

c. 54 x 48 cm.
Gilt bronze mounts are datable to 1760–1765; the Porphyry elements of the mortar are older.
London, Wallace Collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M34. Mortar and Pestle

Mortar height 38 cm; pestle length 21 cm.
Louis XVII.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 358.
PROVENANCE: Koller auction house, Zurich, 23 June 2011.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

M31.

M33.

M32.

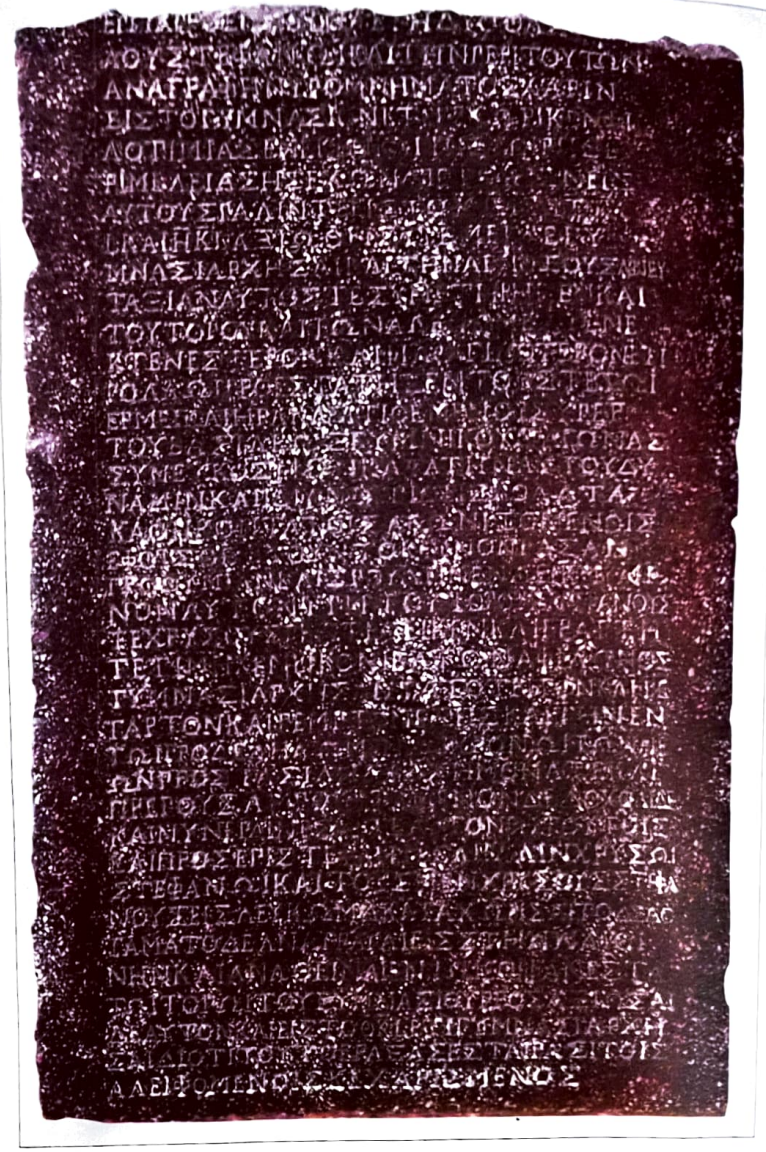
M34.

Inscriptions

I1. Honorary Inscription

Height *c.* 43 cm; width *c.* 30 cm; thick *c.* 3 cm; letters height *c.* 7 cm.
Before 152/151 BC.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles.
Slab, missing upper part, bearing decree concerning honours conferred by members of the gymnasium in Thera to the gymnasiarch Baton, son of Philonos, for his generosity and dedication in the carrying out of public services.

PROVENANCE: Gymnasium south-east of Thera (?); found in 1540 in the port of Ancona; Rome, in the collection of Cardinal Pio da Carpi (1500-1564) then Flavio Orsini (1529-1600); Verona, in the collection of Marquis Scipione Maffei's (1675-1755); found again in the Cabinet des Médailles at the end of the 19th century by Ch. Michel.
LITERATURE: *Porphyre* 2003, p. 42, no. 2; *IG* XII, 3, no. 331.


11.

I2. Fragment of a Slab

c. 43.5 x 54 cm; letters height *c.* 10.3/10/+9.5 cm.
2nd century.
Rome, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, in the floor pavement of the central nave, to the right of entrance.
Upper right-hand corner of slab is not marginated: [—/]*nize* / [—/] *M.f.* / [—/]*umae*.

PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE:
DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 70, fig. 113.

I3. Six Fragments of a Slab

FT 13201: 29.5 x 26 x 3.3 cm; letters height 11/+9.5cm, indent width 1.5/2.5 cm; FT 13202: 21.5 x 18 x 3.6 cm; letters height *c.* +9/+5 cm; FT 13203: 16 x 9 x 2.4 cm; letters height *c.* +4 cm; FT 13204: 13.5 x 16.5 x 2.2 cm; letters height *c.* +8 cm; FT 13205: 11.4 x 13.5 x 3.5 cm; letters height *c.* +11 cm; FT 13206: 12 x 12.5 x 3.3 cm; letters height +11.5 cm.
2nd century.
Rome, Trajan's Market, Epigraph Storerooms, inv. nos. FT 13201-06.
Six fragments of a slab from the same inscription with alveolate letters. The shallow indent of the letters, of rectangular section, was destined to hold *pâte de verre* rather than bronze. The type of material used allows us to believe that it was an epigraph of a certain importance:

[—/]*CV*[—/]
[—/]*DIV*[—/]

[—/]DE[—/]
[—/]++[—/]

[—/]+[—/]

[—/]+*D*[—/]
[—/]+*T*[—/]
[—/]*H*[—/]

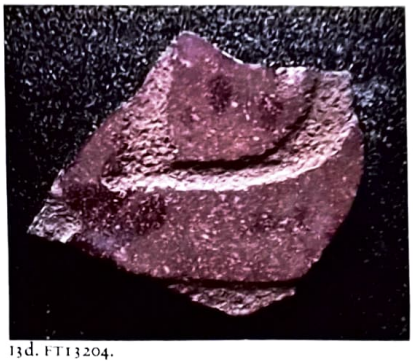
[—/]*A*[—/]

12.

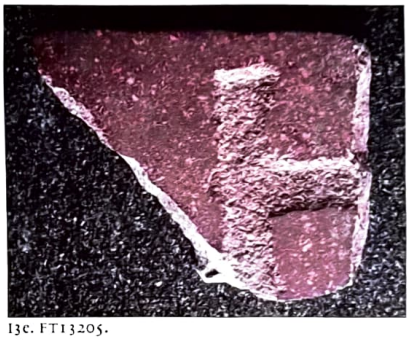
13a. FT13201.

13b. FT13202.

13c. FT13203.



13d. FT13204.



13e. FT13205.

13f. FT13206.

Engraved surface and smooth retro. Fragment FT 13201 preserves part of the upper edge. The second line may refer to a deified emperor. Rather than the classical imperial title, in which it would be difficult to find letters such as CV, it is more correct to think of it as a dedication about a public building, such as a */porti]cu[s]*. The lesser thickness of the fragments FT13203 and 13204 can be explained either by the irregularity of the manual cutting or by the fact that the epigraph was inscribed on more than one slab; in this case, a small step was formed, which would not have been visible, along the joint on the reverse.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Trajan's Forum.

LITERATURE: LICORDARI, degree dissertation, academic year 2006–2007.

14. Fragment of a Slab

c. 30 x 45 cm.

2nd century.

Rome, Portico d'Ottavia municipal storerooms, inv. nos. 4089, 4219, 4249.

Slab fragment bears inscription with alveolate letters. Note the attempt to engrave the verso of the slab, perhaps with the same inscription: [—ʻ] *MMI*[—ʻ] / [—ʻ]+*SEM*[—ʻ] / [—ʻ]*VTIB*[—ʻ].

PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.

LITERATURE: DI STEFANO MANZELLA 1987, p. 62, n. 65; DELBRUECK 1932.

14a.

14b.

15. Fragment of an Architrave

40 x 46.5 cm; letters height *c.* 13 cm.

2nd century.

Berlin, Schloss Glienicke from 1917, wall III B, inv. no. Gl. 102.

15.

Four letters are engraved on the upper band: [—ʻ]*NTE G*[—ʻ]. A slight imperfection in the upper right leads one to exclude the letter O. The shape of the indent appears too narrow and neat to accommodate bronze letters; at most it could have been filled with a lime plaster impasto or *pâte de verre*. There are no certain integration theories, but one could think of a formula such as */in i]nteg[rum restituit]*, that would refer to the restoration of a monument.

PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: GOETHERT 1972, p. 373, pl. 112.

16. Fragment of a Slab

c. 43 x 30 cm; letters height *c.* 10 cm.
The punctuation mark made using a *hedera* leaf leads one to date it to the end of the 3rd century.
Berlin, Schloss Glienicke from 1917, wall III B, inv. no. Gl. 107.
Fragment of a slab bearing an inscription with alveolate letters: [—]*SVS* / [—]*DIN* / [—]*M*.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: GOETHERT 1972, p. 373, pl. 112.

16.

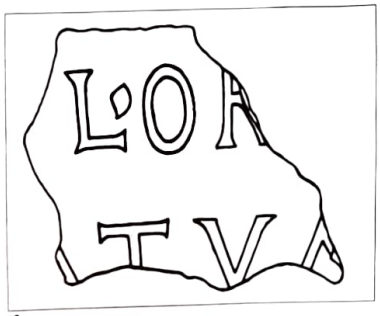
17. Fragment of a Slab

39.5 x 27 x 2.8/3.3 cm; letters height between *c.* 8 and 9 cm.
3rd–4th century.
Rome, National Roman Museum, inv. no. 29203.
Fragment of a slab with an inscription with alveolate letters. The shape of the indent and some drill holes lead one to conclude that it could have accommodated bronze or lead letters: [—]+*II ASN*[—] / [—]+*IVM* +[—] / [—]*HERM*[—] / [—]*OM*[—].
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: DI STEFANO MANZELLA 1987, p. 62, n. 65; *CIL* VI, 41044.

17.

18. Fragment of a Slab

Height *c.* 34 cm; width *c.* 30 cm; thick *c.* 11 cm; letters height *c.* 12 cm.
Beginning 4th century.
Rome, *Antiquarium* of Celio Hill.
Fragment of a slab with an inscription with alveolate letters to accommodate metal characters. The back is flat: [—]*L OR*—] / [—]*TVA*—].
PROVENANCE: Rome, Roman Forum.
LITERATURE: GREGORI 1997, p. 163, no. 3; *AE* 1997, 0149; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 150.


18a.

18b.

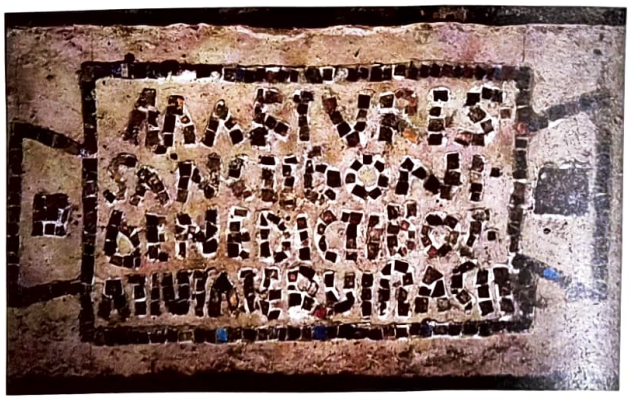
19. Milestone Column

Height *c.* 142 cm; letters height *c.* 2 cm.
AD 293–305.
Turkey, *Aperlai*, reused as the architrave of a door in a defence tower.
This is a particular case, in as much as the Porphyry was used in a milestone dedicated to the tetrarchs; it would have been placed near the eastern gate of the city and would probably have indicated the beginning of a road used for the transportation of the Porphyry from the city to the sea. "To the Emperors, the caesars gaius aurelius diocletian and marcus aurelius valerius maximianus, both dutiful and blessed augusti: and to flavius valerius constantinus and galerius valerius maximianus, both most manifest caesars. The city of the aperlites...".
PROVENANCE: Licia-Pamphilia, in the territory of *Aperlai*, a well-known centre of Porphyry production.
LITERATURE: *IGR* III, 691; LEADBETTER 2003, p. 127–36; *AE* 2003, 1735.

19.

110. Latin Inscription on Marble

Length *c.* 130 cm.
Small bars of Red Porphyry are inlaid into the letters carved in a slab of white Luni marble.
3rd–5th century.
Rome, Catacombs of Saint Panfilo.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Catacombs of Saint Panfilo.
LITERATURE: unpublished.


111.

110.

112.

113.

111. Latin Inscription on Marble

Length *c.* 50 cm.

Delbrueck in 1932 published a photograph of this epigraph as it was inlaid with Red Porphyry. It is not. As a matter of fact the letters are filled with glass paste *tesserae*. It is possible that Delbrueck misplaced this inscription with the previous one from the same catacomb.

3rd–5th century.

Rome, Catacombs of Saint Panfilo.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Catacombs of Saint Panfilo.

LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 151, fig. 65.

112. Arabic Inscription of Roger II

Length *c.* 210 cm.

12th century.

Palermo, Palazzo Abatellis, in the museum courtyard.

PROVENANCE: Palermo, Norman Palace or Cappella Palatina.

LITERATURE: DEL BUFALO 2010, p. 118, fig. 217; TRONZO 1997, p. 42, pls. V–VI.

113. Plaque with Inscription

Length *c.* 120 cm.

1514.

Florence, Santa Maria Novella, inserted into the rise of the entrance step.

PROVENANCE: commissioned by Bernardo Rucellai.

LITERATURE: BUTTERS 1996, I, pp. 123, 133–134, II, fig. XX.

Fragments

F1. Trapezophoros

Height *c.* 75 cm.
1st–2nd century.
London, British Museum, inv. no. 1805, 0703.225.
The piece is formed from a combination of the head and a leg of a panther.
PROVENANCE: the head was discovered in 1722 during excavations carried out at the foot of the Palatine Hill in Rome; the leg was discovered years later in an unknown location and entered the Townley Collection.
LITERATURE: SMITH 1892–1904, III p. 406, no. 2526.

F2. Fragment of a Statuette

Height *c.* 7 cm; width *c.* 6 cm.
1st–3rd century.
Tolmeitha (Libya), inv. no. Pesce 48a.
Pesce mentions three fragments of a statuette, to correspond to fragments nos. 48a and b; the third defined as "insignificant" is no longer traceable. There is no certainty that the three pieces are from the same statuette.
PROVENANCE: Tolmeitha (Libya), from the Villa of Columns.
LITERATURE: D'ESTE 1997, p. 102, no. 29, pl. XLVI, B; PESCE 1950, pp. 79–80, no. 48.

F3. Fragment of a Statuette

Height *c.* 14 cm; width *c.* 11 cm.
1st–3rd century.
Tolmeitha (Libya), inv. no. Pesce 48b.
Pesce mentions three fragments of a statuette, to correspond to fragments nos. 48a and b; the third defined as "insignificant" is no longer traceable. There is no certainty that the three pieces are from the same statuette.
PROVENANCE: Tolmeitha (Libya), from the Villa of Columns.
LITERATURE: D'ESTE 1997, pp. 102–103, no. 30, pl. XLVI, C; PESCE 1950, pp. 79–80, no. 48b.

F4. Fragment of a *Rota*

c. 35 cm.
1st–3rd century.
Rome, Foro Argentina, Storerooms.
Half a *rota* from a floor pavement.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations in the Forum.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

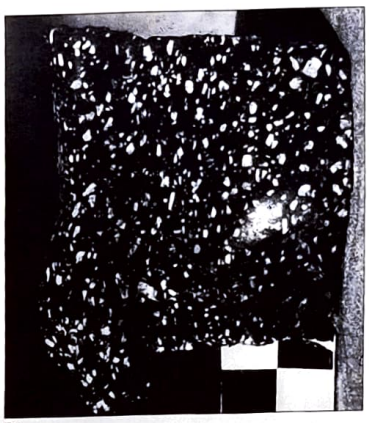
F5. Fragment of a Lesene

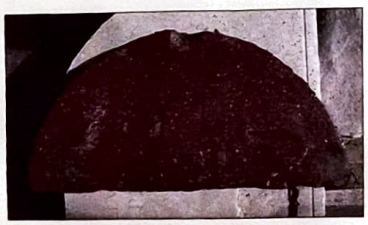
c. 19 x 16 cm.
5th century.
Rome, Foro Argentina, Storerooms.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Forum, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F6. Fragments

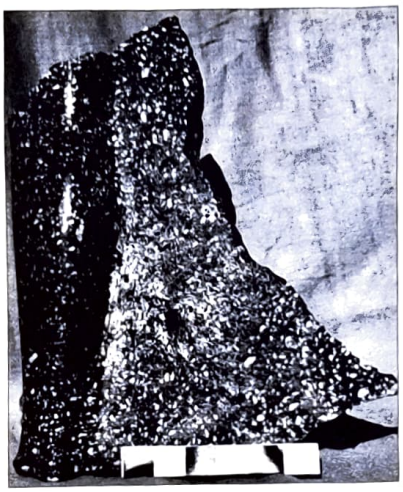
Various, from *c.* 15 to 20 cm.
2nd century.
Trier, Provincial Museum, inv. nos. 9066, 6306, 8861.
PROVENANCE: Tempelbezirk at Altbachtal (Trier).
LITERATURE: GOSE 1972; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 198, fig. 102.

F1.

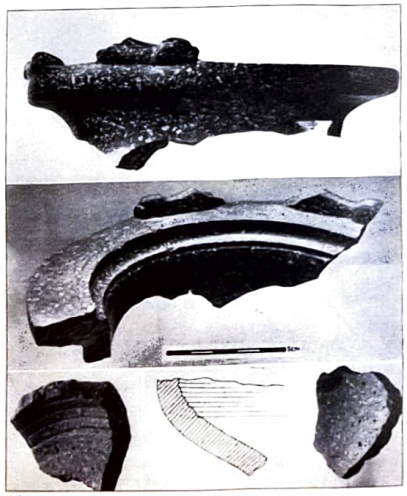

F2.


F4a.

F4b.


F3.

F5.


F6.

F7.

F8.

F9.

F10.

F11a.

F11b.

F7. Fragment of a "Marriage of Cana" Vase

Height *c.* 17 cm; width up to *c.* 14 cm.
The vase fragment is probably from the Roman Empire and was mounted in a silver frame in the 17th century.
Hildesheim, Diocesan Museum, inv. no. DS 5.
The Porphyry fragment is mounted in a silver vase-shaped setting.

PROVENANCE: gift from Emperor Otto III to his tutor, Abbot Bernard of Hildesheim, before 1002. Broken during turmoil on 30 March 1662.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 196-197, pl. 98.

F8. Fragment of a Cornice

Length *c.* 35 cm.
2nd-3rd century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, Zeri-Malgeri commodatum, inv. no. 107.

PROVENANCE: Mentana, Federico Zeri Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F9. Fountain Support

Height max 160 cm; original diam. *c.* 240 cm; presumably the basin was 4 m.
2nd century.
Rome, Antiquarium on the Caelian Hill, inv. no. 35179.
Support base for a large base *labrum* with octagonal socle.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Via dei Burrò, near to the Temple of Hadrian, excavations of the Baths of Caracalla.
LITERATURE: *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, p. 398, no. 103; PENSABENE 1998, p. 347, pl. 2, no. 1; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 184-185, fig. 89.

F10. Fragments of a *Labrum*

c. 40 cm and various.
2nd century.
Naples, National Archaeological Museum, Farnese Collection.
Fifteen fragments of differing dimensions.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Baths of Caracalla.
LITERATURE: GASPARRI 2010, p. 106, no. 39.

F11. Trapezophoros

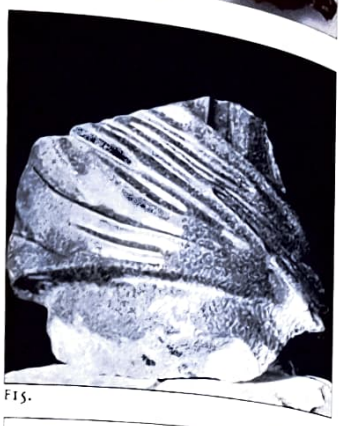
Length *c.* 148 cm.
2nd century.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1992.11.70.
Bath support.

PROVENANCE: acquired by the museum in 1992. In the 19th century the support was part of the Hever Castle Collection (UK); it was subsequently sold at auction in 1983 (Sotheby's, London, 11-12 July, 1983).
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, p. 180, no. 2.

F14a.

F14b.

F13.



F15.

F16.

F12. Fragment of an Ansa from a Large *Labrum*

c. 40 cm.
2nd century.
Turin, Agnelli family.

PROVENANCE: Baroness Lazzaroni; this fragment of an ansa could be part of the large *labrum* in the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum in Naples (A. Giuliano).
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F13. Relief Fragment

Height *c.* 73 cm; width *c.* 77 cm.
2nd century.
Berlin, Schloss Glienicke, inv. no. Gl. 159.
Made up of two pieces put back together. A large bas-relief fragment that is most likely to have represented a Gorgon or Poseidon, this portion depicts the hair.

PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 412-413, no. 2; GOETHERT 1972, p. 15, no. 82, pl. 34.

F14. Fragments of a Bowl

Length *c.* 10 cm.
1st-3rd century.
London, British Museum,
inv. no. 1814,0704.1648.

PROVENANCE: antiquities market; acquired by the museum in 1814.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F15. Fragment of Drapery

Height *c.* 38 cm.
2nd century.
Benevento, Cloister of Santa Sofia.

PROVENANCE: Iseo di Benevento.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 76-77, fig. 24; MEOMARTINI 1904, p. 114.

F16. Fragment of a Right Foot

Length *c.* 23 cm.
2nd century.
Bologna, Civic Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Rom 1556.
Anterior section of an Egyptian-style, colossal right foot.

PROVENANCE: Marsili Collection; at the beginning of the 19th century, it was conserved in the Museum of Bologna University.
LITERATURE: BRIZZOLARA 1986, p. 59 no. 19, pl. 43; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 82, fig. 29.

F17. Fragment of a Draped Statue

c. 14 x 9 x 6 cm.
2nd century.
Rome, Trajan's Forum, Basilica Ulpia Storerooms, inv. no. FT6794, shelf 24 B2.

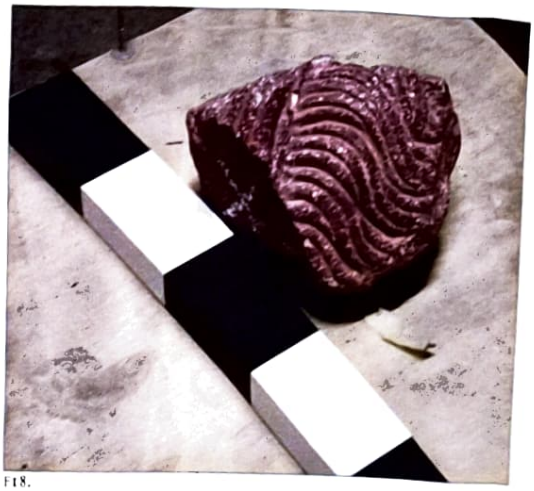
PROVENANCE: Rome, Trajan's Forum.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F18. Fragment

c. 19 x 15 x 14 cm.
2nd century.
Rome, Trajan's Forum, Basilica Ulpia Storerooms, inv. no. FT6824, shelf 24 A3.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Trajan's Forum.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F17.



F18.

F19.

F20.

F19. *Labrvm* Support

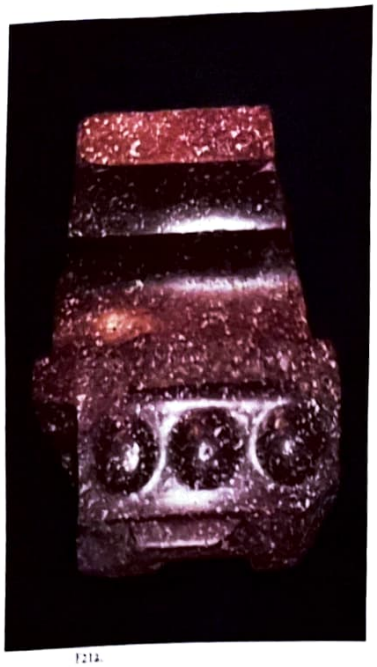
Height *c.* 85 cm.
2nd century.
Florence, Palazzo Capponi.
Bath support.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Basilica of San Bartolomeo all'Isola.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 1995, pp. 179-180 no. 1; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 154-155.

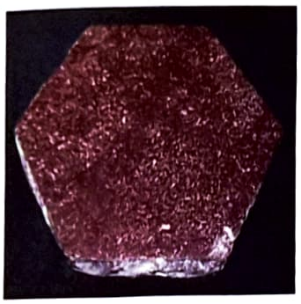
F20. Loricate Torso

Height *c.* 73 cm.
Hadrianic period.
Rome, Museo delle Terme, inv. no. 61159.
Fragments of the left shoulder, the side and posterior part of the torso remain. The drapery and the style remind one of the loricate torso in the Gregorian Profane Museum (inv. no. 730).

PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: *Radiance in Stone...* 1989, p. 94, fig. 17, no. 17; VERMEULE III 1959-1960, p. 60, no. 218; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 51, pl. 8.



F21a.

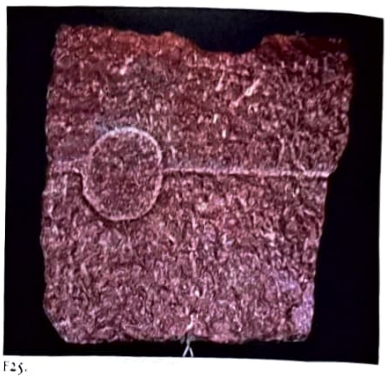


F22.

F21b.

F23.

F24.



F25.

F26.

F21. Fragments of a Trapezophoros for a Bath Tub

Height *c.* 38 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
This type of support with three circular ashlars is identical to that of the sarcophagus in the Chapel of Saint Eugenia in the Basilica of Santi Apostoli and is also very similar to the bath on the altar of San Marcello.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Gnoli Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F22. Floor Pavement Hexagon

Diameter *c.* 24 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Gnoli Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F23. Fragment of a Column with Restorations

c. 20 cm.
2nd–4th century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Gnoli Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F24. Smoother

Height *c.* 18 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F25. Quarry Block Fragment with Work Signs

c. 45 x 55 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market, workshop of Fiorentini.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F26. Fragment of a Floor Pavement

Length *c.* 24 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
This piece of floor pavement bears the characteristic wavy form on one side to invisibly fit together with the adjacent piece.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Gnoli Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F27.

F28.

F29.

F30.

F31.

F32.

F27. Fragment of a Floor Pavement

Length *c.* 32 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F28. Fragment of a Hexagonal Plinth

Length *c.* 43 cm.
Late 3rd century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Gnoli Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F29. Fragment of an Architrave

Length *c.* 55 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

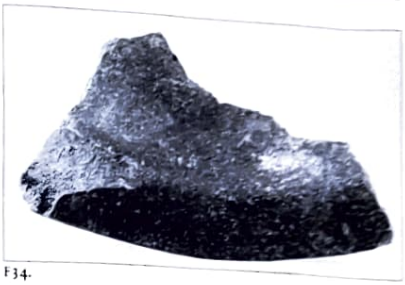
F30. Fragment of a *Labrvm*

Length *c.* 24 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market, workshop of Fiorentini.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F31. Fragment of Drapery

Height *c.* 37 cm.
2nd–4th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, Zeri-Malgeri commodatum, inv. no. 106.
PROVENANCE: Mentana, Federico Zeri Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F33.



F34.

F32. Fragment of a Large Thermal Bath

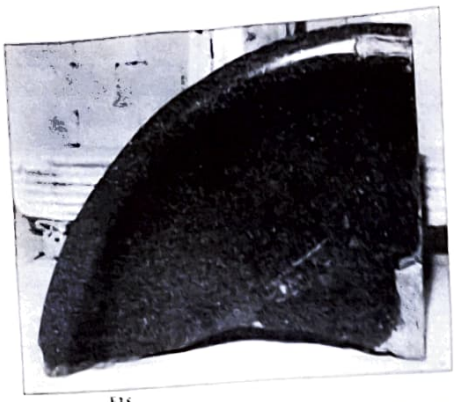
Length *c.* 50 cm; thickness of the wall *c.* 27 cm.
3rd–4th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, Zeri-Malgeri commodatum, inv. no. 105.
This is a large-sized fragment of a thermal bath, given the thickness of the wall (27 cm, almost a Roman foot) to which a ring, decorated with an ivy leaf on the inside, is attached.
PROVENANCE: Mentana, Federico Zeri Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F33. Fragment of a *Labrvm*

Height *c.* 40 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, excavations storeroom.
Only a fragment of the wall with the lip remains.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Palatine Hill, Vigna Barberini excavations.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 209-210, fig. on p. 513, no. L. 20.

F34. One of Eleven Fragments of a *Labrvm*

c. 40 cm and various.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Capitoline Museum Storerooms.
About eleven fragments are conserved.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 202, fig. on p. 510, no. L. 17.



F35.

F36.

F38.

F37.

F39a.

F39c.

F39b.

F35. Fragment of a *Labrum*

c. 130 cm.
Roman Empire.
Rome, Vatican, ex Ponteggi Storerooms.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 199, no. L. 13.

F36. Various Fragments

Various.
Roman Empire.
Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: NATALINI 1995.

F37. Fragment of a Table Leg

Height *c.* cm 40
Roman Empire.
Toledo, Carranque.
This ferine foot is of identical style and dimensions to the one in F50, probably coming from the same archaeological site.
PROVENANCE: Toledo, Parque Arqueológico de Carranque.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F38. Fragments of Plates

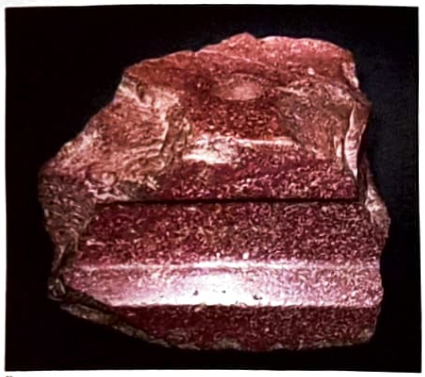
c. 2, 5, 3 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Cremona.
PROVENANCE: Cremona, discovered during excavations that took place in 2005 in Piazza Marconi, Cremona.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F39. Thirteen Fragments

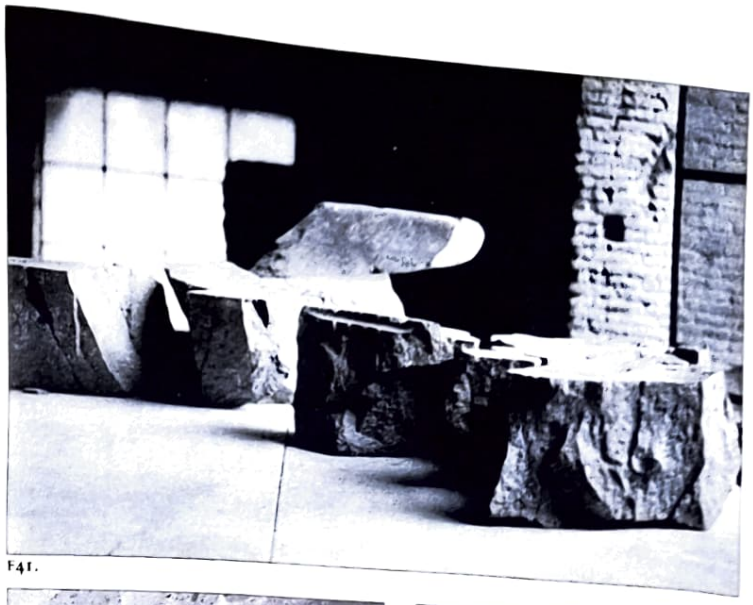
Various.
2nd–3rd century.
Rome, Trajan's Market, Torre delle Milizie Storerooms, found during the course of the move in 2007.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Trajan's Forum.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F40.

F42.



F45.



F41.

F43.

F44.

F46.

F40. Fragment of a *Labrvm*

Various.
2nd–3rd century.
Rome, Trajan's Market.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Forum excavations.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, pp. 203–209, no. L. 19; *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* 2002, pp. 398–399, no. 104.

F41. Fragments of a *Labrvm*

Diameter *c.* 260 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Rome, Church of Santa Maria Antiqua.
PROVENANCE: Rome, *Septizodium*, median exedra.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 201, no. L. 15.

F42. Fragment of a *Labrvm*

Diameter *c.* 38 cm.
2nd–4th century.
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation, inv. no. 272c.
Umbilicus of a large bowl.
PROVENANCE: ex Gnoli Collection, antiquities market.
LITERATURE: *Sculture dalle collezioni Santarelli e Zeri* 2012, p. 86, no. II.52.

F43. Fragments

Max. 21 cm.
2nd–4th century.
Rome, Appia Antica.
Drapery fragments.
PROVENANCE: from the *Antiquarium* of the Mausoleum of Cecilia Metella.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F44. Left Foot

Length *c.* 22 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Vienna, Staatliches Antikenmuseum, inv. no. 58.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 68, 70 fig. 20.

F45. Fragment of a Plinth

Length *c.* 23 cm.
Late 3rd century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Gnoli Collection.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

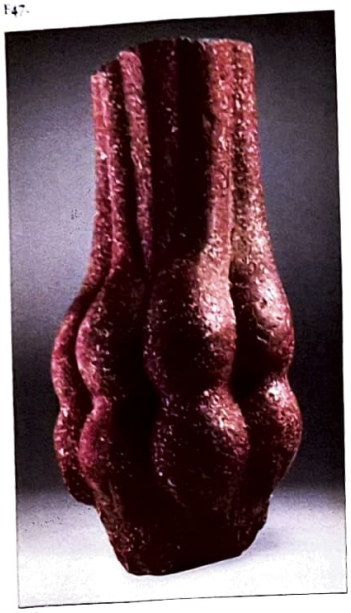
F46. Fragment of a Shell

Height *c.* 43 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
Rome, Villa Albani, fitted into the wall on the back of the coffeehouse.
Fragment of a shell set within a pastiche.

F47.

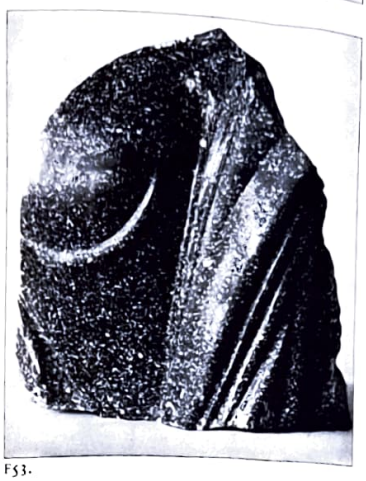
F48.

F51.



F50.

F49.



F53.

F52.

PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: AMBROGI 2005, p. 210, no. L. 21; BOL 1998, p. 386, no. 905, pl. 171; DELBRUECK 1932, p. 183, fig. 88.

F47. Left Foot

Length *c.* 44 cm.
2nd–4th century.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.6-1949.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market, formerly Richmond, Cook Collection.
LITERATURE: KATER-SIBBES 1973, p. 187, no. 962; VERMEULE, VON BOTHMER 1956, p. 336; VERMEULE 1955, p. 141, no. 2; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 57–58, fig. 10.

F48. Fragment of Drapery

Height *c.* 12.5 cm.
2nd–4th century.
London, British Museum.
PROVENANCE: acquired in 1879.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F49. Fragment of a Sarcophagus

Height *c.* 18 cm.
2nd–4th century.
Mentana, Zeri Collection.
The lower part of a lion's mane from a sarcophagus.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F50. Fragment of a Paw

Height *c.* 28 cm.
2nd–4th century.
London, Tomasso Brothers Fine Art.
PROVENANCE: American antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F51. Bas-Relief - Beard of Poseidon

Length *c.* 84 cm.
2nd–4th century.
London, British Museum, inv. no. AN990790001.
Fragment of a bas-relief disc representing the chin and lower lip of Poseidon, from whose beard fall two dolphin heads. Very similar in style and size to the Medusa in Palazzo Colonna.
PROVENANCE: Rome.
LITERATURE: unpublished

F52. Architectural Fragments

Height max 55 cm.
2nd–4th century.
Rome, Museo delle Terme, Storerooms; inv. nos. 52855-25856.
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 139, figs. 55–56.

F53. Fragment of a Statue Wearing a Chlamys

Height *c.* 19 cm.
2nd–4th century.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.2-1925.

F54.

F56a.

This may be the left shoulder of a figure wearing a chlamys.

PROVENANCE: acquired in 1925 in Rome by Dr W. L. Hildburgh from a dealer near the Roman Forum.

LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 114-115, fig. 44.

F54. Fragment of a Statue

Height *c.* 42 cm.
2nd-4th century.
Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure.

PROVENANCE: unknown, presumably from Villa Medici in Rome as for all the other Porphyry fragments conserved in the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence that were cut and used in the *commesso* technique; who knows how many archaeological fragments were taken from Rome and were cut for Florentine commissions over the many years of activity of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure...

LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 67-69, fig. 19.

F55. Fragment of a Sarcophagus

Height *c.* 13 cm; width *c.* 14 cm.
2nd-4th century.
Berlin, Schloss Glienicke, inv. no. Gl. 174.
A section of the chest with the right shoulder and the arm joint, which would have been bent, are conserved.

PROVENANCE: unknown.

LITERATURE: GOETHERT 1972, p. 40, no. 193, pl. 81.

F56. Fragments of a *Labrum*

A: height *c.* 52 cm, width *c.* 95 cm; B: height *c.* 43 cm, width *c.* 37 cm; C: height *c.* 36 cm, width *c.* 39 cm.
2nd-4th century.

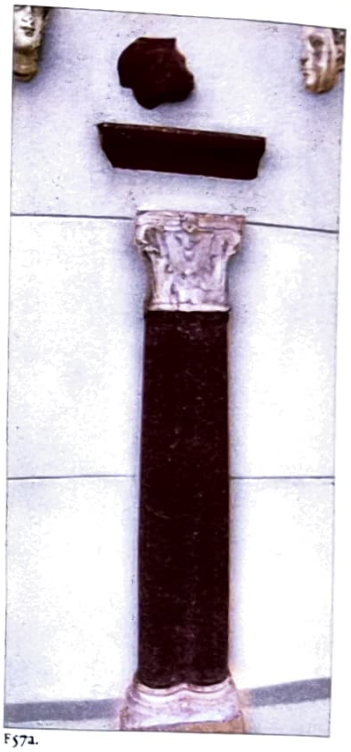
F55.

F56b.

Berlin, Schloss Glienicke, inv. no. Gl. 160.
A: fragment of the side of the bath decorated with ionic *kyma* on the rim; B: fragment of the ansa decorated with serpents' tails, fitted to the wall the opposite way round. The remains of a serpent's body lie to the right, with its counterpart to the left. A shell lies in the middle with poppy stems and an acanthus leaf at the sides; C: fragment of the ansa, fitted to the wall the opposite way round. Part of a serpent's body with remains of a shell, poppy stems and acanthus leaves.

PROVENANCE: unknown.

LITERATURE: GOETHERT 1972, p. 47, fig. 1, no. 222, pl. 82.



F57a.

F57b.

F57. Fragment of a Pillar with Cornice

Cornice height *c.* 23 cm, width *c.* 35 cm; pillar height *c.* 71 cm, width *c.* 43 cm.
2nd-4th century.
Berlin, Schloss Glienicke, pillar inv. no. Gl. 106, cornice inv. nos. Gl. 80, Gl. 134.

PROVENANCE: unknown.

LITERATURE: GOETHERT 1972, p. 60, nos. 315-316, pl. 99, p. 64, fig. 6, nos. 335a-b.

F58.

F59.

F60.

F61.

F62.

F63.

F64.

F65.

F58. Fragment of a Pestle for a Mortar

Height *c.* 14 cm.
3rd–4th century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F59. Column Drums

Height *c.* 150 cm.
3rd–4th century.
Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, external gardens.
PROVENANCE: Istanbul, archaeological excavations.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F60. Fragment of a Relief

Height *c.* 45 cm; width *c.* 22 cm.
3rd–4th century.
Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Museum Carnuntinum, inv. no. 4228.
Part of the left leg of a horse or bull is conserved.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 71, no. A30; KRUEGER 1972, p. 57, no. 588, pl. 57.

F61. Fragment of a Statuette

Height *c.* 14 cm.
Diocletian age.
Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum für Kärnten, inv. no. L/615.
PROVENANCE: *Virunum*, discovered in 1905 in room no. 48 of the baths.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, pp. 66–67, no. A20; PICCOTTINI 1968, pp. 40–41, no. 72, pl. 47.

F62. Fragments of a Draped Figure

Width max. *c.* 70 cm.
Probably from the period of Maxentius.
Rome, Temple of Venus and Roma.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Roman Forum.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 77–78, fig. 26.

F63. Fragment of a Draped Figure

Height originally *c.* 400 cm; width *c.* max. 70 cm.
Probably from the period of Maxentius, who, in AD 307, had the temple restored. Delbrueck maintains that they are fragments datable to the Hadrianic period.
Rome, Temple of Venus and Roma, cell of Roma.

According to Delbrueck, this was a seated enthroned female figure, possibly the goddess Roma.

PROVENANCE: Rome, Roman Forum.

LITERATURE: LUCCI 1964, pp. 248–249; VERMEULE 1959, pp. 42–43; DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 77–78, fig. 25.

F64. Left Hand with Globe

Length *c.* 22 cm.

Beginning of the 4th century.

Serbia, Zajecar, National Museum, inv. no. G/416.

this is related to the head of Galerius in the same museum (inv. no. G/1477, entry H26).

PROVENANCE: from the Imperial Palace of Romuliana (Gamzigrad, Serbia).

LITERATURE: SREJOVIĆ 1993, pp. 232–233, no. 71; KLEIN 1988, p. 65, no. A16.

F65. Right Hand

Length *c.* 15 cm.

4th century.

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.1–1925.

The position of the hand can be compared to the left hand of the statue in the Archiepiscopal Museum in Ravenna.

PROVENANCE: acquired by Dr W. L. Hildburgh in 1925 from a dealer near the Roman Forum.

LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 115–116, fig. 45.

F66. Left Ear

Length 17 cm. It must have been part of a statue *c.* 4 m high.

4th century, Constantinian period.

Unknown, once in Rome, private collection.

The ear is similar to that of a colossal bronze version of Constantius II in Palazzo dei Conservatori.

PROVENANCE: from a dealer who bought it in 1925, near the Roman Forum.

LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 116, 118, fig. 47.

F67. Neck of a Tetrarch's Head

Height *c.* 23 cm; width *c.* 19 cm.

Diocletian rule.

Serbia, Zajecar, National Museum, inv. no. 441.

The fragment of the neck belongs to the same group as the hand (inv. no. 416), the foot (inv. no. 559) and an eagle's wing (inv. no. 556), presumably from a depiction of an emperor. The neck fragment belongs to the head of a tetrarch and is finished in the same way as on a bust of a tetrarch that is conserved in Cairo.

PROVENANCE: Serbia, Gamzigrad, Imperial Palace of Romuliana.

LITERATURE: SREJOVIĆ 1993, p. 231, no. 70; KLEIN 1988, p. 65, no. A16.

F68. A Tetrarch's Foot

Length *c.* 18 cm.

4th century.

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 5848.

Belonging to the group of Tetrarchs in Venice (see entry S50).

PROVENANCE: Bodrum, discovered in the 1970s.

LITERATURE: LAUBSCHER 1999, 114, p. 219, fig. 6; KLEIN 1988, pp. 64–65, no. A 15.

F69. Horse's Hoof

Length *c.* 21 cm.

4th century.

Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, inv. no. 275, not on display but in the "*a la Reserve*" Storerooms.

This probably belongs to the sarcophagus of Saint Helen.

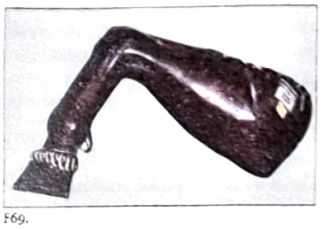
PROVENANCE: Rome, Mausoleum of Tor Pignattara.

LITERATURE: *Porphyre*... 2003, p. 40, fig. 14.

F66.

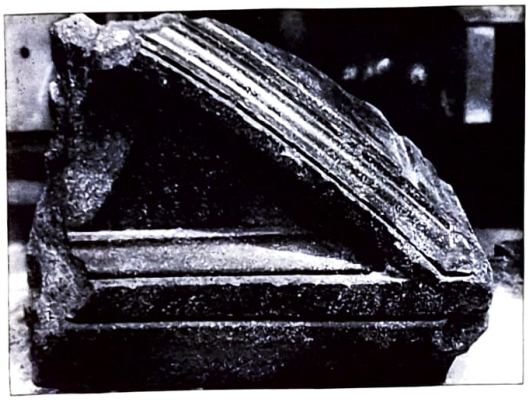
F67.

F68.

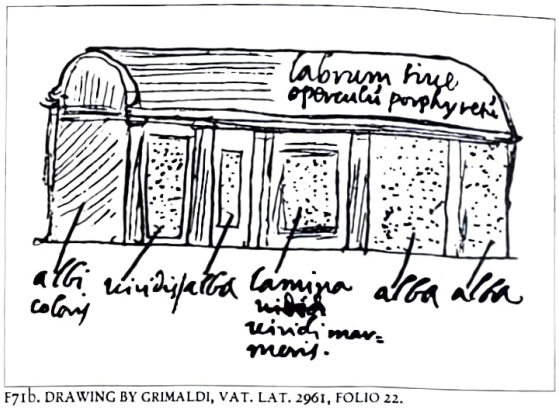


F69.

F70.



F71a.



F71b. DRAWING BY GRIMALDI, VAT. LAT. 2961, FOLIO 22.

F70. Fragment of a Sarcophagus

Width 95 cm.
4th century.
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 806.
Sarcophagus of Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus. To put together with the head in Berlin (inv. no. 6129). Very close to the sarcophagus of Constantina in the Vatican Museum.
PROVENANCE: Constantinople. Discovered in an unknown location in 1908.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F71. Architectural Fragment

Height max. 55 cm, 10.3 cm.
4th or 10th century.
Lost; was last in Rome, Museum delle Terme, Storerooms.
Corner of a sarcophagus lid, possibly that of Otto II from the atrium of the Old Basilica of Saint Peter, reported by Delbrueck (p. 214) with the drawing by Grimaldi, who wrote on the lid "*labrum sine operculo porphyreticum*".
PROVENANCE: Rome, excavations.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 139, figs. 55-56 and p. 214.

F72. Fragment of a Left Foot

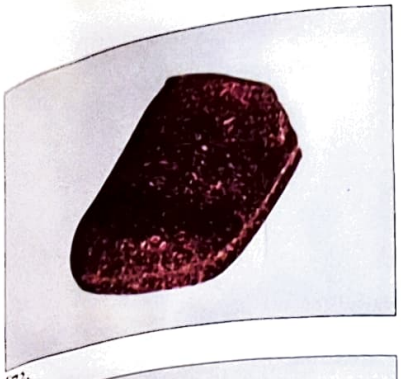
Length *c.* 11 cm.
3rd-4th century.
Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archaeology, inv. no. PCAS 81.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter.
LITERATURE: *Costantino il Grande...* 2005, pp. 286-287, no. 127c.

F73. Fragment of an Arm

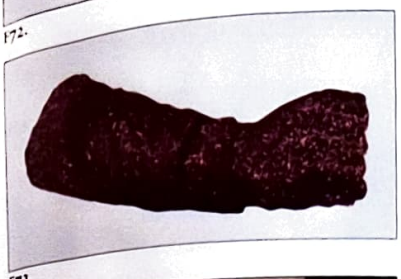
c. 18 cm.
4th century.
Rome, Vatican Museums, Armour Storerooms, inv. no. 52132.
Possibly from the sarcophagus of Saint Helen.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Mausoleum of Tor Pignattara.
LITERATURE: *Costantino il Grande...* 2005, p. 286, no. 127b.

F74. Loricate Torso

Height *c.* 147 cm.
2nd-4th century.
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. AS 15064, in the storerooms of the antiquities collection of the Danish National Museum.
PROVENANCE: in the basement of Christiansborg

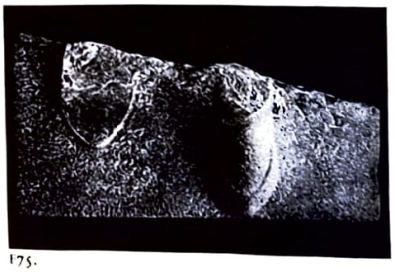


F72.



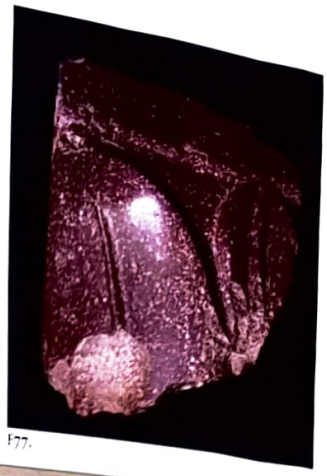
F73.

F74.

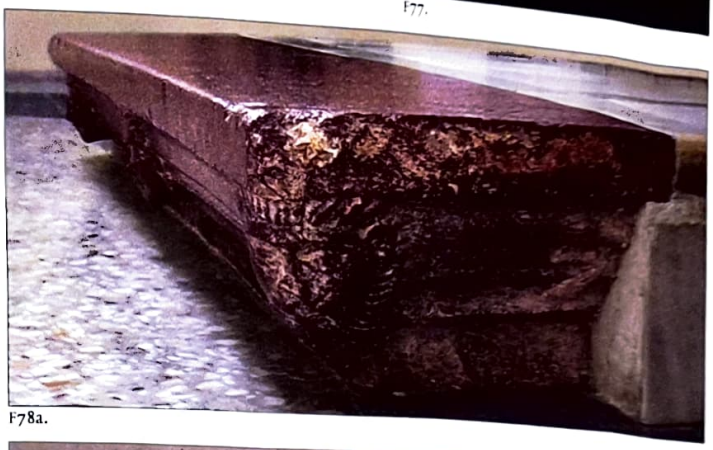


F75.

F76.



F77.



F78a.

F78b.

(from 1868), the seat of the Danish Parliament. The fragment may well have been in Denmark since medieval times (having come from Rome), otherwise it may have been transported from France in 1720, arriving from Leptis Magna together with a cargo of decorative and construction materials, including Porphyry columns.

LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 63, no. A13; VERMEULE III 1978, p. 117, no. 325A; HJORT 1969-1973, pp. 57-82.

F75. Base of a Statue

The left foot is *c.* 19 cm long, which makes one think that it comes from a smaller than life-size statue.

4th century.

Alexandria.

For Kiss it is part of the statue in Berlin (inv. no. 6128) found in Alexandria in 1909.

PROVENANCE: discovered in Alexandria in 1973 from the Polish excavations on Kom el-Dikka.

LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 63, no. A14.

F76. Fragment of a Capital

Height *c.* 25 cm.

12th century.

New York, private collection.

Probably one of the capitals of the baldachin of the tomb of William I, damaged in a serious fire in Monreale (Palermo) in 1811.

PROVENANCE: antique market.

LITERATURE: unpublished.

F77. Fragment of a Capital

Height *c.* 18 cm.

12th century.

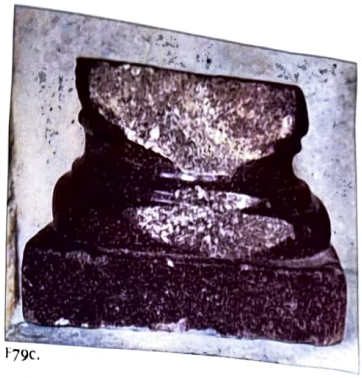
Rome, Dino and Ernesta Santarelli Foundation.

PROVENANCE: ex Gnoli Collection; probably amongst the fragments recovered from the fire of the baldachin of William I in the Cathedral of Monreale (Palermo).

LITERATURE: unpublished.

F79a.

F79b.

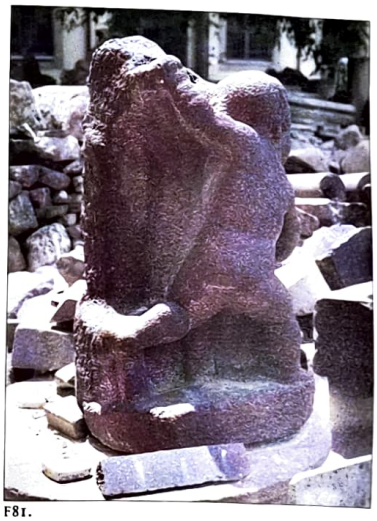


F79c.

F79d.

F80.

F79e.



F81.

F78. Architrave of a Baldachin

Length *c.* 235 cm.
12th century.
Nicotera, Cathedral, altar step.
The small heads carved in relief are extremely similar to those carved on the baldachin of Frederick II in Palermo.
PROVENANCE: from the Tomb of Ruggero, Count of Calabria who died in 1101 and was buried in Mileto. It came to light in 1790 on the property of Prince Fulco Antonio Ruffo, Lord of Nicotera; he presented it to the bishop of the city who placed it in the Cathedral.
LITERATURE: GIULIANO 2003, pp. 16-17, figs. 10-12.

F79. Architectural Fragments: Capitals, Bases, Plinths

Various, about twenty-three pieces.
12th century.
Monreale (Palermo), Cathedral, cloister.
PROVENANCE: from the baldachin of the tomb of William I that was destroyed in the fire of 1811.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, pp. 136-137.

F80. Base for a Small Medieval Column

Height *c.* 20 cm.
13th century.
Rome, Dario Del Bufalo Collection.
PROVENANCE: antique market, workshop of Fiorentini.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F81. Fragment of a Sculptural Group

Height *c.* 65 cm.
17th-18th century.
Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure.
Unfinished sculptural group by a Florentine sculptor.
PROVENANCE: from an antique fragment.
LITERATURE: NATALINI 1995.

F82.

F83.

F82. Fragment of a Laurel Wreath

Length *c.* 52 cm.
2nd–3rd century.
France, private collection.
This is part of a decorative laurel crown from the upper shaft of a large honorary column, or from a bath.
PROVENANCE: antiquities market.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F83. Fragment of a Block

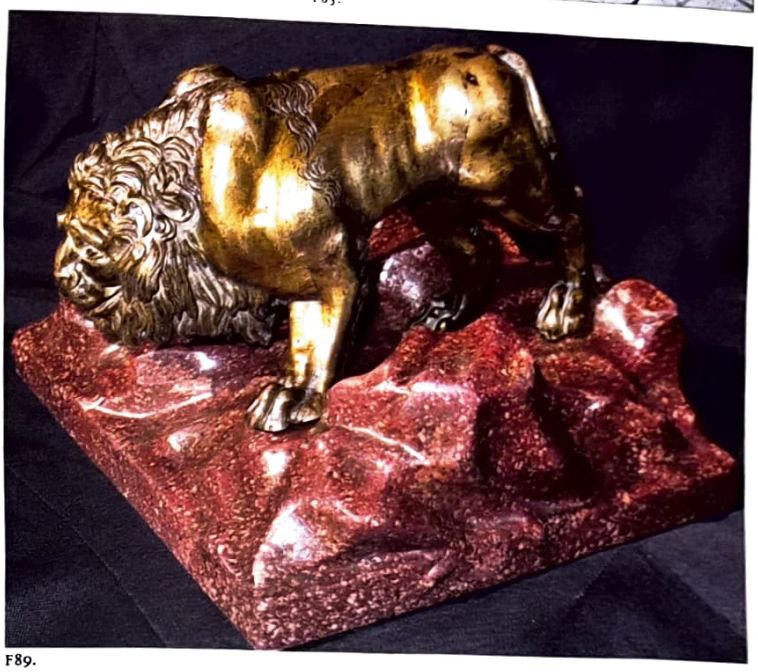
Height *c.* 65 cm.
Uncertain.
Istanbul, Theodosian Walls, Golden Gate of Constantinople.
PROVENANCE: Istanbul, excavations near the walls.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

F84. Fragments of a Right Foot

Length *c.* 11 cm.
Diocletian rule.
Serbia, Zajecar, National Museum, inv. no. 559.
The fragment of the right foot belongs to the same group as the neck (inv. no. 441), the hand (inv. no. 416) and the eagle (inv. no. 556), presumably from a depiction of an emperor.
PROVENANCE: Serbia, Gamzigrad, Imperial Palace.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 65, no. A16.

F85. Fragment of an Eagle's Wing

c. 20 x 11 cm.
Diocletian rule.
Serbia, Zajecar, National Museum, inv. no. 566.
The fragment of an eagle's wing belongs to the same group as the neck (inv. no. 441), the hand (inv. no. 416) and the foot (inv. no. 559), presumably from a depiction of an emperor.
PROVENANCE: Serbia, Gamzigrad, Imperial Palace.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 65, no. A16.



F89.

F86. Fragments of an Enthroned Statue

Life-size.
Late 3rd – early 4th century AD.
Unknown (Zajecar Storerooms?).
The statue portrays a Roman emperor, presumably Galerius.
PROVENANCE: Serbia, Vrelo, about forty kilometres north of Gamzigrad.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 72, no. A32.

F87. Three Fragments of a Statue

Smaller than life-size.
Based on the style, from the Augustan age.
Cairo, Museum.
Three fragments of a male statue, perhaps belonging to the same statue. The first is from the upper part of the body, the second is a hand resting on a hip and the third is a fragment of a head with the nemes. They are Egyptian-style fragments.
STATE OF CONSERVATION: fragmentary.
PROVENANCE: unknown.
LITERATURE: DELBRUECK 1932, p. 42.

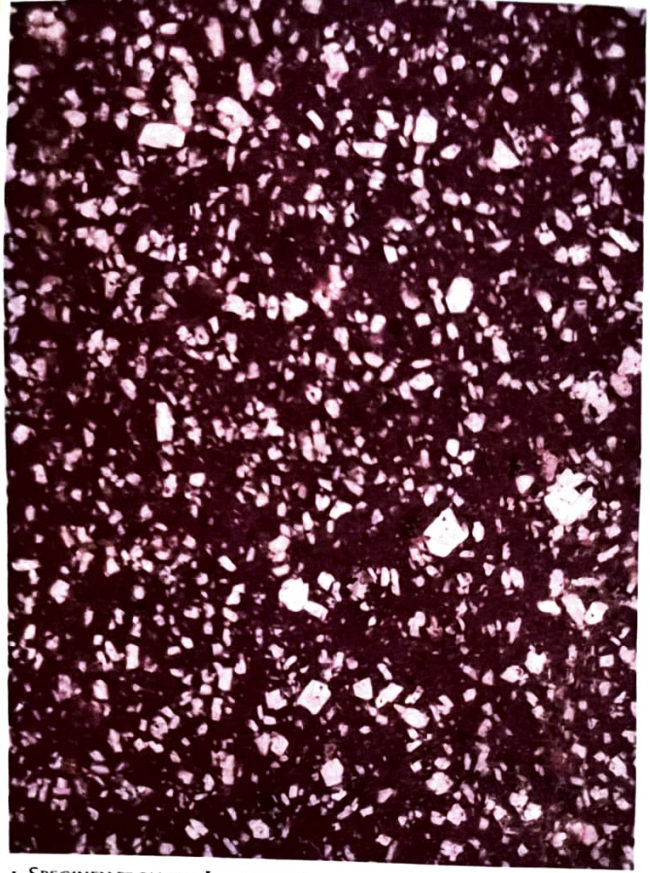
F88. Fragment of a Statue

Unavailable.
2nd century.
Ostia Antica, inv. no. 208.
Fragment of an Egyptian-style statue.
STATE OF CONSERVATION: fragmentary.
PROVENANCE: Ostia.
LITERATURE: KLEIN 1988, p. 66, no. A18; LUCCI 1964, p. 271, n. 154f.

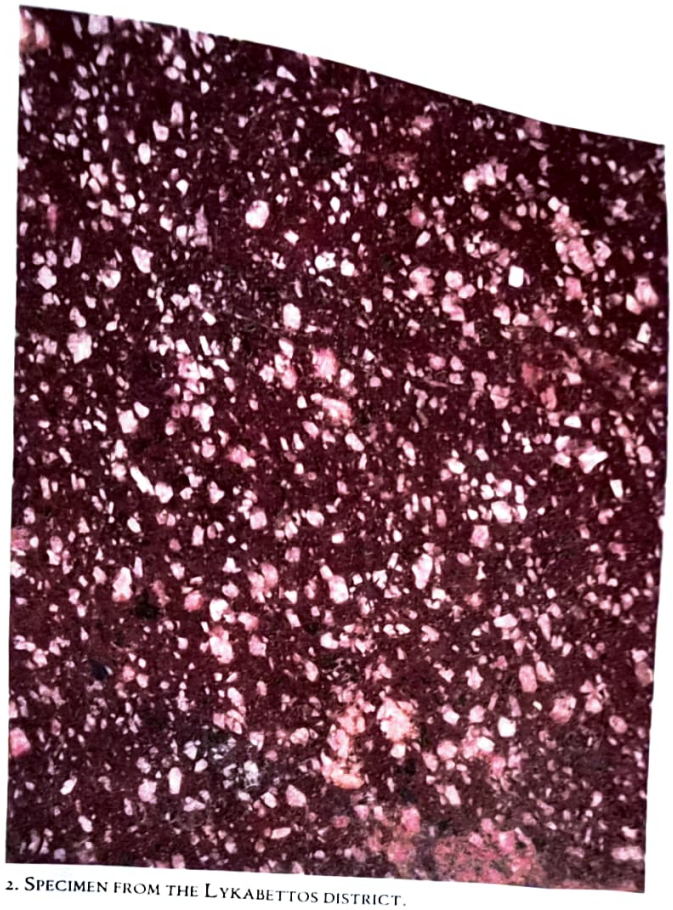
F89. Base for the Bernini Lion Model for the Fountain of Piazza Navona in Rome

c. 20 x 25 cm.
XVII century.
London, private collection.
PROVENANCE: Rome, Doria Pamphilj family, part of the scale model for the Bernini Fountain in Piazza Navona, acquired from the Pamphilj family by the antique dealer Tarchini; auction house Semenzato Venice 1989.
LITERATURE: *Bernini: sculpting in clay* 2012; SEMENZATO 1989; SESTIERI 1970; D'ONOFRIO 1957; FRASCHETTI 1900; BRINCKMANN 1924; BERNINI 1713.

Porphyry Samples



1. Specimen from the Lykabettos district.

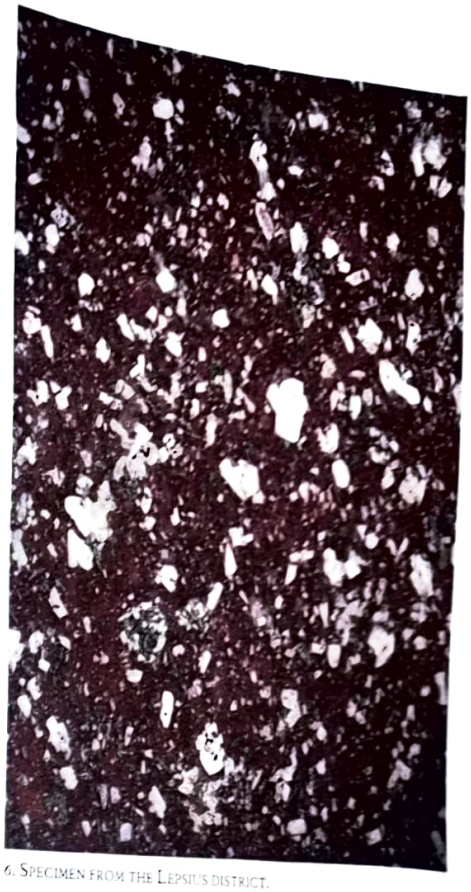


2. Specimen from the Lykabettos district.

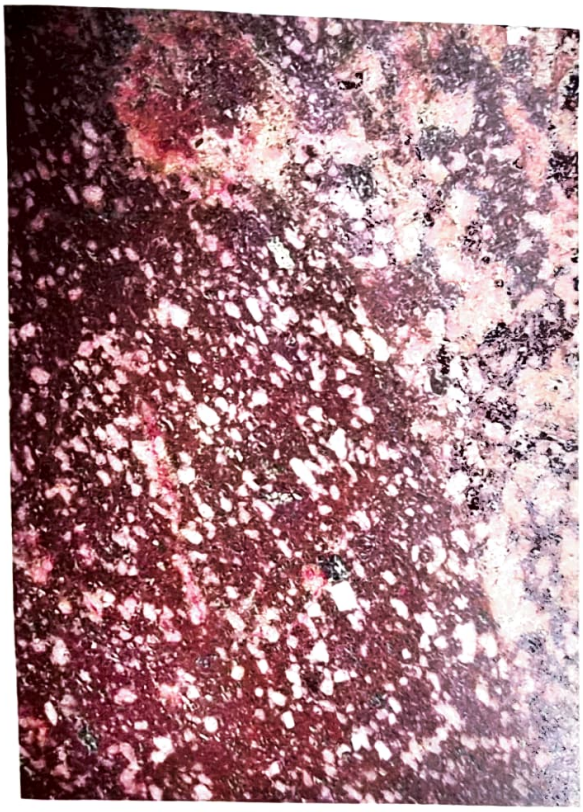
3. Specimen from the North-West district.

4. Specimen from the North-West district.

5. Specimen from the Lepsius district.



6. Specimen from the Lepsius district.



7. Specimen from the Rammius district.

8. Specimen from the Rammius district.